

THE MAKING OF THE AVICENNAN TRADITION

David C. Reisman

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THE MAKING OF THE AVICENNAN TRADITION

ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY THEOLOGY AND SCIENCE

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THE MAKING OF THE AVICENNAN TRADITION

*The Transmission, Contents, and Structure
of Ibn Sīnā's al-Mubāḥaṭāt (The Discussions)*

BY

DAVID C. REISMAN



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For Cara

السؤال إذا لم يُجب عنه بالغاية التي ينقطع عندها السؤال يكون لازماً وعائداً، مثلاً يقال لما كان كذا؟ فيقال إنه كان كذا أو لا يكون ذلك الغاية التي ينقطع عندها السؤال بل يلزم أن يعاد السؤال.

- Ibn Sīnā, *at-Taʿlīqāt* (ed. Badawī, Cairo 1973), 46.17-19.

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INTRODUCTION

I. SURVEY OF PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP

Ibn Sīnā's al-Mubāḥaṭāt has attracted uneven attention in modern scholarship. This should not come as a surprise. The very difficult problems associated with the composition, textual transmission, structure, and contents of this collection of private correspondence between Ibn Sīnā and his students and colleagues have collectively presented a sizeable barrier to our evaluation of the Mubāḥaṭāt as a source for the life and philosophy of Ibn Sīnā. The desultory nature of the two editions of the texts that make up the Mubāḥaṭāt has effectively ensured that scholars would remain confused as to how best to put the Mubāḥaṭāt to use, although the more recent of the two editions (Bīdārfar, 1992) does represent an improvement that has initiated a new round of studies by scholars of Ibn Sīnā.

With the exception of the information concerning one or another exemplar of the Mubāḥaṭāt found in catalogues of Arabic manuscripts, Paul Kraus appears to be the first modern scholar to outline, however briefly, some of the problems associated with the interpretation of the Mubāḥaṭāt. Kraus's article "Plotin chez les Arabes," published in 1941, was directed in the first instance to a survey of the influence of the *Enneads* of Plotinus on medieval philosophers writing in Arabic. As such, he touched upon Ibn Sīnā's Commentary on the *Theology* of Pseudo-Aristotle available to him in the codex Cairo Ḥikma 6 Muṣṭafā Fāḍil. The fragments of Ibn Sīnā's commentary, the remains of his much larger *Kitāb al-Inṣāf*, shared space in that codex with what we now know to be a singularly eccentric recension of the texts of the Mubāḥaṭāt, which would later be edited in no less an eccentric manner by ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān Badawī (*Aristū ʿinda l-ʿarab*, 1947). Kraus, with the customary mark of his genius, correctly grouped and analyzed some of the information found among the texts of the Mubāḥaṭāt concerning the composition and loss of *Kitāb al-Inṣāf* and thereby signalled the importance of the Mubāḥaṭāt as an additional source for the historical side of Ibn Sīnā's life and works, all in two brief but dense notes to his larger concerns (note 3, pp. 273-4, and note 1, p. 274).

Six years after Kraus's remarks, ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān Badawī published his edition of parts of the Cairo codex, including its recension of the Mubāḥaṭāt. The sheer variety of texts Badawī selected for his *Aristū ʿinda l-ʿarab* could not but produce a certain unevenness in both his editing work and his interpretive remarks on those texts. My evaluation of Badawī's edition of the Mubāḥaṭāt is outlined in Chapter One, Part Two and Appendix A

below. Here I direct attention to the short essay in his introduction (pp. 35-40) on the nature and contents of the *Mubāḥaṭāt*.

With a confidence that belies the complexity of the problems associated with the *Mubāḥaṭāt*, Badawī addressed the questions of the work's ascription to Ibn Sīnā by evaluating the medieval biographical material available to him, and the composition and collection of the texts by instructive remarks on the confused order of the exemplar in the Cairo codex. Very few other exemplars of the *Mubāḥaṭāt* were known to Badawī (listed on pp. 35-6) and he had access to none of them. This was perhaps for the best; if, for instance, he had studied the exemplar Bodleian Huntington 534 listed by him, we perhaps would not have seen the publication of the *Mubāḥaṭāt* from the Cairo codex. For the radically different recensional picture such a comparison would have produced would have had to inaugurate many years' study of the textual problems associated with the *Mubāḥaṭāt* and perhaps even have resulted in the elimination of the recension found in the Cairo codex in the editing process. But there were two major deleterious results of the publication of the *Mubāḥaṭāt* from the Cairo codex. The first was the attendant confusion it elicited from scholars who utilized Badawī's edition and the concomitant lack of sustained research on the work. The second was the conclusions Badawī drew from the disordered state of the recension in the Cairo codex. In his introduction, Badawī noted the fragmentary nature of the texts that make up the *Mubāḥaṭāt* in this recension, exemplified by the repetition of different versions of passages and the lack of any apparent order in the progression from one section of text to the next. He concluded from this evidence that the recension in the Cairo codex was copied from the original rough drafts made by Ibn Sīnā and his students. This conclusion is contested in the following pages. However, there are elements to Badawī's conclusion that are worthy of attention; for instance, his suggestion that the texts of the *Mubāḥaṭāt* were not subject to a conscientious collection by Ibn Sīnā or his students (p. 39), while requiring some modification, was very prescient. But the somewhat skewed picture of the recensional process of the *Mubāḥaṭāt* presented by Badawī is directly attributable to the fact that a thorough study of as many of the extant exemplars of the *Mubāḥaṭāt* as could reasonably be expected was not made before the editing process began. This must stand as an object lesson for scholars working with Arabic manuscripts.

In 1950 George Anawati published the seminal catalogue of extant Ibn Sīnā manuscripts (*Muʿallafāt Ibn Sīnā*) and largely took over Badawī's description of the *Mubāḥaṭāt* in his brief introduction to a list of the manuscripts of the *Mubāḥaṭāt* that he had personally examined. While adding nothing to the analysis of the *Mubāḥaṭāt*, Anawati's list expanded the knowledge of extant remains of the work.

Credit must go to Muḥammad Taqī Dānišpažūh, indefatigable cataloguer of Iranian manuscripts, for undertaking the first serious attempt to rationalize the complicated picture of the recensional process presented by the extant manuscripts of the Mubāḥaṭāt. In a short essay introducing his description of MS Miškāt 1037,¹ an essay which appears to have gone entirely unnoticed by scholars who have since worked on the Mubāḥaṭāt,² Dānišpažūh raised and addressed many of the additional issues related to the composition, contents, and structure of the Mubāḥaṭāt left unnoted by Badawī. He gathered together all of the references in the Mubāḥaṭāt to Ibn Sīnā's works, to places (e.g., Rayy and Iṣfahān), and to the names of the participants of the philosophical correspondence, and concluded that the texts of the Mubāḥaṭāt date to the period between 403-5/1014-1017 and Ibn Sīnā's death in 428/1037 and that the participants included not only Bahmanyār and Ibn Zayla but also a scholar named Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī.³ Having access to manuscripts unavailable to Badawī, Dānišpažūh was able to suggest that the Mubāḥaṭāt existed in a number of different recensions. In (conscious?) opposition to Badawī's conclusions, Dānišpažūh believed that the various texts of the Mubāḥaṭāt were collected by Ibn Sīnā's disciples (p. 338), but the evidence he produced for this conclusion was the same as that proffered by Badawī for the contrary theory: the fact that some of the passages are introduced by the words "in the hand of Ibn Sīnā," or "in the hand of Ibn Zayla," etc. Most importantly, Dānišpažūh drew on the putative Ibn Sīnā—Abū Sa'īd ibn Abī l-Ḥayr correspondence by noting that in one of the letters of that correspondence the correspondents mention the Mubāḥaṭāt by name. Oddly enough, however, he does not seem to have explicitly argued that the Mubāḥaṭāt must then have been a collected work in Ibn Sīnā's lifetime.⁴ At any rate, he did introduce this new element into the discussion about the composition and dating of the Mubāḥaṭāt. Dānišpažūh also noted the extent of the scholia of the Mubāḥaṭāt present in the works of Mullā Ṣadrā.

The degree of confusion that resulted from Badawī's 1947 edition of the Mubāḥaṭāt was first made evident in 1952, when Shlomo Pines published his masterly study of Ibn Sīnā's "philosophie orientale." Pines's characterization of the Mubāḥaṭāt as a "chaotic collection of responses to questions posed by his disciples and notes" is certainly a valid description of the state of the Mubāḥaṭāt in the Cairo codex recension. But it is worth arguing that this

¹ *Fihrist-i Kitābhānah-yi Ihdā'i-yi Āqā-yi Sayyid Muḥammad Miškāt*, 3:1, pp. 337-342. He adds some additional notes concerning the Mubāḥaṭāt in a discrete essay on Ibn Sīnā's works entitled *Nigāriš-hā-yi Ibn Sīnā* in the same catalogue, 3:4, pp. 2393ff.

² It is possible that Bīdārfar implicitly took over many of Dānišpažūh's conclusions in the introduction to his edition, but he does not refer specifically to Dānišpažūh.

³ See Chapter Three below for studies of the participants in the Mubāḥaṭāt.

⁴ This issue is addressed in Chapter Two, Section IV.

characterization of the Mubāḥaṭāt was effectively to curtail serious research into the Mubāḥaṭāt. Despite his reaction, Pines nonetheless made two important points about the Mubāḥaṭāt. The first was that the manuscripts of the Mubāḥaṭāt known to him were not consistent in their contents (he knew the exemplars Köprülü 869 and Istanbul University 4545 in addition to Badawī's edition; see p. 5, n. 5)—this was the first time such an observation was made in Western scholarship. The second was that the so-called “Letter to Kiyā,” which finds a place in the Cairo codex recension of the Mubāḥaṭāt, most likely bore no original connection to the Mubāḥaṭāt (*ibid.*); this conclusion is supported by the present study.⁵ Another text not properly a part of the Mubāḥaṭāt (these texts are called Accretional Mubāḥaṭāt Texts here), the so-called “Memoirs of a Disciple from Rayy” (MIVa), was summarized by Pines in an appendix to his article, where he also signalled a forthcoming edition of the text by S.M. Stern (which was never realized).

In 1952, the already turgid waters of Mubāḥaṭāt editions were further muddied by the publication of an edition of a text entitled *Ğawāb sitta ʿašara [sic!] masʿalatan li-Abī Rayḥān (al-Bīrūnī)* by its editor Hilmi Ziya Ülken.⁶ Aside from producing an Arabic text replete with grammatical errors and misreadings, Ülken repeated the methodological error of Badawī before him by consulting but one exemplar of his text. By relying upon only the exemplar Ahmet III 3447, which he thought to be unique, Ülken's analysis of the text, brief as it is (French introduction, *Analyse des textes*, p. 1), followed the error of an earlier cataloguer of the manuscript in ascribing these “sixteen” questions to Bīrūnī, though he did note that “while the title of the text attests to 16 questions, it actually contains 17, even 18 questions and responses.”⁷ The text is actually the beginning of the Mubāḥaṭāt in a recension different from the one edited by Badawī and which, through a fluke of textual transmission, was copied separately from its larger recension.⁸

The correct identification of these so-called “sixteen questions” as part of the Mubāḥaṭāt was but one of the many revisions Yaḥyā Mahdavi introduced to the study of Ibn Sīnā's works with his *Fihrist-i nushah-hā-yi muṣannafāt-i Ibn Sīnā* published in 1954.⁹ This catalogue of Ibn Sīnā's works took into account hundreds of manuscripts unavailable for the similar study done by Anawati four years earlier and, in the breadth and depth of the erudition displayed by its author, remains unmatched for the study of the Ibn Sīnā bibliography even today. Mahdavi's conclusions concerning the textual remains

⁵ See Chapter One, Part Two, Section I.B.c and Chapter Four, Section III.E.

⁶ *İbn Sina Risâleleri, 2: Les Opuscules d'Ibn Sīnā/Rasā'il Ibn Sīnā*, Istanbul, 1953, pp. 2-9.

⁷ Anawati 1, p. 2, preceded Ülken in incorrectly ascribing these questions to Bīrūnī on the basis of Ahmet III 3447.

⁸ See details in Chapter One, Part Two, Section II.B.a.i.

⁹ This particular correction is made on p. 14.

of the Mubāḥaṭāt and many of the texts related to it are regularly referred to in the following pages; it would serve no useful purpose to repeat them here. A major advance to Mubāḥaṭāt research is to be located in Mahdavi's division of the Mubāḥaṭāt into six general parts or texts,¹⁰ a scheme followed by Bīdārfar in his 1992 edition, and modified in the present study.¹¹ Mahdavi was the first scholar to provide lengthy incipits and explicits of each of these texts and also to reproduce what is here called the Scribal Note Attached to the Later Recension, a document of utmost importance for our understanding of the recensional stages of the Mubāḥaṭāt.¹² However, Mahdavi's acumen at identifying Pseudo-Ibn Sīnā works was not applied to the putative Ibn Sīnā—Abū Saʿīd ibn Abī l-Ḥayr correspondence which contains many fragmentary passages of the Mubāḥaṭāt along with what may very well turn out to be forgeries; a re-appraisal of this correspondence and its relation to the Mubāḥaṭāt is undertaken below in Chapter Two.

Shlomo Pines again showed a willingness to tread where other scholars would not in 1954 with the publication of his article “La conception de la conscience de soi chez Avicenne et chez Abū l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī,” an article which represents the first attempt to utilize the Mubāḥaṭāt for a study of a particular issue in Ibn Sīnā's philosophy.¹³ And while he repeated his earlier characterization of the Mubāḥaṭāt as a “chaotic collection,” (pp. 43-4) he did seem to sense that there was a sequential progression to the questions and responses on that particular philosophical issue in the texts of the Mubāḥaṭāt, despite the disordered nature of Badawī's edition. Working from Badawī's edition would surely have hampered further investigation into such research; we cannot fault Pines for the shortcomings of the edition available to him. A positive result of Pines's efforts was that a sizeable number of passages from the Mubāḥaṭāt were rendered into French and thus presumably made available to a wider audience. However, the major issue of the composition date of the Mubāḥaṭāt was treated by Pines with a confidence that still remains unwarranted. In a brief note (p. 44, n. 2), Pines asserted that the Mubāḥaṭāt was composed after the sack of Iṣfahān in 1034 without providing any evidence for this opinion. This date is contested in the discussion in Chapter Four below.

¹⁰ Mahdavi 105, pp. 202ff. Gutas's uncertainty (*Avicenna*, p. 143, n. 7) about whether Mahdavi's divisions were those of manuscripts with different incipits and explicits or of actual recensions is resolved in the present study: neither was the case. Mahdavi divided the Mubāḥaṭāt into six texts (either letters or what the correspondents refer to as “sections,” *fuṣūl*) and listed the manuscripts containing each of those six texts.

¹¹ These modifications consist primarily of further sub-division; see the Major Divisions of the Mubāḥaṭāt in The Technical Layout of the Work below.

¹² On this Scribal Note, see Chapter One, Part One, Section II.B.b.

¹³ The article first appeared in *AHDL* 29 (1954), pp. 21-98 and was reprinted in *Studies in Abū l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī, Physics and Metaphysics*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1979, pp. 181-258.

The degree to which Ülken's edition of the "sixteen questions" of the Mubāḥaṭāt led scholars astray is nowhere more evident than in a paper presented by Muḥammad Riḍā aš-Šabībī at the Ibn Sīnā Millenary Conference in Tehran (22-27 April 1955) and published in the following year. In his paper entitled "Turātunā l-falsafī: ḥāgatuḥū ilā n-naqd wa-t-tamḥiṣ" aš-Šabībī tantalizingly described a codex in his own possession which contained the Mubāḥaṭāt in what I call here the Later Recension, as well as the so-called "sixteen questions" the misattribution of which to Bīrūnī Ülken had unwittingly endorsed. I have been unable to trace the present day location of aš-Šabībī's codex but the description aš-Šabībī provided has been sufficient to identify the recensions of the Mubāḥaṭāt that it contained.¹⁴ Laboring under the misapprehension that Ülken's "sixteen questions" form part of the Ibn Sīnā—Bīrūnī correspondence but aware that those "sixteen questions" somehow formed part of the Mubāḥaṭāt, aš-Šabībī stated that the mutual backbiting (*muhātara*) mentioned by Bīrūnī in his *Ātār al-bāqiya* referred not to what is customarily identified as the Ibn Sīnā—Bīrūnī correspondence but to the "sixteen questions" that form part of the Mubāḥaṭāt (pp. 122ff.).¹⁵ And he compared such "mutual backbiting" to the tone of Ibn Sīnā's Letter to Bahmanyār (what is here referred to as MIII). In this manner, aš-Šabībī was led to conclude that Bīrūnī participated in the correspondence that makes up the Mubāḥaṭāt; it is now known that the hostile tone adopted by Ibn Sīnā in some of the texts of the Mubāḥaṭāt is directed toward Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī.¹⁶ Aš-Šabībī also maintained that his exemplar of the Mubāḥaṭāt was probably compiled by Bahmanyār, a wholly untenable proposition but one reached as a result of a comparison of his exemplar with Badawī's edition of the Mubāḥaṭāt which aš-Šabībī believed must have been made by another student from a "defective copy" (p. 142).

Whether a part of the general lull in Ibn Sīnā studies after the millenary celebrations of the 1950s or attributable to the unfortunate early efforts at editing and studying the Mubāḥaṭāt, little work on this very important entry in the Ibn Sīnā catalogue was to be undertaken for almost twenty years after aš-Šabībī's exhortation to edit the Mubāḥaṭāt in another of its recensions. In 1973, Muḥammad Muṭahharī returned to the attribution of the "sixteen

¹⁴ See Chapter One, Part Two, Section V.

¹⁵ It is to be noted that Bīrūnī makes no such statement about any *muhātara* in his *Ātār* (ed. Sachau, Leipzig, 1876, p. 257); perhaps aš-Šabībī unconsciously appropriated the references to the enmity between Ibn Sīnā and Bīrūnī from al-Bayhaqī's *Tatimmat Ṣiḥwān al-ḥikma* (ed. Šafīʿ, p. 29).

¹⁶ See Chapter Three, Section II.A.

questions” to Bīrūnī in a volume dedicated to Bīrūnī and repeated Maḥdavi’s assertion that they should not be so attributed.¹⁷

During the 1980s and early 1990s, scholars such as Michael Marmura and Jean Michot¹⁸ followed Pines in utilizing the Mubāḥaṭāt for studies of specific concerns in Ibn Sīnā’s philosophy, but in a limited and haphazard manner that highlighted the problems involved in working with Badawī’s edition. By far the most significant studies of the 1980s to direct attention to the textual transmission of the Mubāḥaṭāt were those by Dimitri Gutas. Recognizing that research on the Mubāḥaṭāt as well as other works by Ibn Sīnā was stymied by the lack of fundamental studies on the nature, structure, contents, and above all the textual transmission of Ibn Sīnā’s *Nachlass*, Gutas has single-handedly redirected the study of Ibn Sīnā back to the basic concerns so fundamental to assuring profitable research into such a major intellectual figure.¹⁹ In 1987 Gutas published “Notes and Texts from Cairo Manuscripts, II: Texts from Avicenna’s Library in a Copy by ‘Abd-ar-Razzāq aṣ-Ṣignāhī” in which he properly identified the scribe of the Cairo codex Ḥikma 6M used by Badawī for his edition of the Mubāḥaṭāt, made detailed codicological and palaeographical observations, traced the exemplars in the Dār al-Kutub, Cairo which descend from Ḥikma 6M, provided a detailed inventory of its contents and publication record, and noted many of the inconsistencies in Badawī’s edition of a number of the works in that codex. Such a study of a single codex of Ibn Sīnā’s works was and is unparalleled, and while many of the extant codices of Ibn Sīnā’s work do not warrant such attention, the more important ones unquestionably should be subjected to such attention following Gutas’s model.

In 1988 Gutas published his *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition: Introduction to Reading Avicenna’s Philosophical Works*, a work which represents a major turning-point in the modern study of Ibn Sīnā. The wealth of information on the major issues related to research on Ibn Sīnā in this work and the scholarly erudition brought to bear on those issues assures

¹⁷ *Barrasīdah dar barāyi Abū Rayhān Bīrūnī*, Tehran, 1973, pp. 54-163; see also the summary in Janssens, *Bibliography*, p. 44.

¹⁸ Marmura published two articles that drew in a minimal way on the Mubāḥaṭāt, which he described as a collection of questions and responses by Ibn Sīnā, Bahmanyār, and Ibn Zayla, probably collected in a first draft in Ibn Sīnā’s lifetime, viz. “Avicenna on Primary Concepts in the Metaphysics of his *al-Shifāʾ*,” and “Ghazali and the Avicennian Proof from Personal Identity for an Immaterial Self.” He returned to some additional passages from the Mubāḥaṭāt in his articles “Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s Critique of an Avicennan *Tanbīh*,” and “Avicenna and the Kalām.” During the 1980s Jean Michot drew on the Mubāḥaṭāt for his studies *La destinée de l’homme selon Avicenne* and “Cultes, magie et intellection: l’homme et sa corporéité selon Avicenne.”

¹⁹ This is no exaggeration; I know of no other scholar who has properly identified and discussed the crucial issues involved in studying the textual record of Ibn Sīnā’s philosophy, and while I challenge many of his conclusions concerning the Mubāḥaṭāt in the pages to follow, Gutas deserves high praise for his pioneering efforts.

that it will continue to be a fundamental departure point for future studies of Ibn Sīnā. While not an unduly large book, the range of Gutas's discussions is vast. Such scope was a necessity for Ibn Sīnā studies, but it also means that many of the details of Gutas's conclusions require further refinement as other scholars direct their attention to more specific areas of research.²⁰ This is the case with the Mubāḥaṭāt and the present study. Gutas's work regularly alights on the problems related to the Mubāḥaṭāt, and he undertook the first English translations of three texts either part of or related in different ways to the Mubāḥaṭāt.²¹ But his actual discussion of the work is relatively brief (pp. 141-144), and he rightly notes that detailed study of the manuscript remains would be required before any definite conclusions could be reached. Gutas's most significant departure from prior discussions of the Mubāḥaṭāt is his tentative identification of the Mubāḥaṭāt and the *Ta'liqāt* as the extant remains of the work Ibn Sīnā occasionally referred to as *al-Lawāḥiq*. This suggestion has much to recommend it, not least the fact that neither Ibn Sīnā nor his students ever appear to refer to the titles *al-Mubāḥaṭāt* or *at-Ta'liqāt*, but it is further refined in the following pages (see in particular Chapter Four). I argue that while the *Ta'liqāt* may very likely be the textual remnants of the *Lawāḥiq*, it is less likely that the correspondence that makes up the Mubāḥaṭāt ever formed a part of that elusive work. Gutas does not directly address the dating of the texts of the Mubāḥaṭāt in his discussion of the work, but his dating of other works, such as *al-Inṣāf* and especially the so-called *al-Mašriqīyīn*, indicates that he opted, like Pines before him, for the later date of 1034 for the inception of the correspondence. This view is challenged in Chapter Four (see the references to Gutas's arguments there). Finally, Gutas suggested that the manuscript Bodleian Huntington 534 represents the "original recension" of the Mubāḥaṭāt (p. 143). Contrary to this claim, I suggest that that manuscript is a representative of what I call the Later Recension.²²

It can be said that the significant research on the Mubāḥaṭāt in the 1980s was directed by Gutas; for the 1990s this claim may reasonably go to Muḥsin Bīdārfar and Jean Michot. In 1992, Jean Michot published his "Une nouvelle oeuvre du jeune Avicenne," in which he laid the groundwork for his study of a newly discovered letter by Ibn Sīnā which he has called *Demand de médiation*.²³ Michot described this letter as a request for inter-

²⁰ The most important review of Gutas's book is that by M.E. Marmura, "Plotting the Course of Avicenna's Thought."

²¹ These are, according to Gutas's titles: the "Letter to Kiyā," "Memoirs of a Disciple from Rayy" (MIVa), and "Letter to an Anonymous Disciple" (MII).

²² See Chapter One, Part Two, Sections IV and VI.

²³ The letter was discovered by Michot in MS Hüseyin Çelebi 1194 and the article "Une nouvelle oeuvre" was a follow-up to his codicological study of that manuscript in "Un important recueil avicennien du VIIe/XIIIe S.: la *Majmū'a* Hüseyin Çelebi 1194 de Brousse." Michot has

vention sent to the vizier Abū Saʿd concerning a public controversy between Ibn Sīnā and a scholar named Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī. In his article, Michot set forth the basic knowledge we have on Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī and his relationship to Ibn Sīnā and Bahmanyār, and the role he played in the Mubāḥaṭāt. Many of his findings concerning al-Kirmānī and Bahmanyār are followed in the study here (see particularly Chapter Three). The importance of Michot's research in this regard lies in his seminal study of the historical context of Ibn Sīnā's philosophical career.²⁴ In the same article, Michot announced the forthcoming edition of the Mubāḥaṭāt by the Iranian scholar Muḥsin Bīdārfar.

In the same year, 1992, Bīdārfar's edition was published; this event can rightly be said to have changed profoundly the landscape of research on the Mubāḥaṭāt. This new edition of the Mubāḥaṭāt was based on a study of many manuscripts unknown to Badawī in 1947, manuscripts which presented a very different picture of the work. By basing his edition on MS Bodleian Hunt. 534, Bīdārfar gave scholars access to the Mubāḥaṭāt in what is here called its Later Recension. By utilizing other manuscripts, such as Leiden Warn. Or. 864 and Princeton Yahuda 308, in his critical apparatus, Bīdārfar was able to provide a record (albeit an uneven one) of the variants found in what is here called the Earlier Recension. There are many significant problems with Bīdārfar's editing methodology, but his edition did have the advantage of demonstrating clearly that the Mubāḥaṭāt was far from the "chaotic collection" that is the eccentric recension of the Cairo codex edited by Badawī and was in fact a series of correspondence, each letter of which represented a stage in the philosophical discussions between Ibn Sīnā, Bahmanyār, and Abū l-Qāsim on the one hand, and Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Zayla on the other hand. And the references Bīdārfar provided in his apparatus to Ibn Sīnā's other works, particularly the *Šifāʾ*, on which so much of the Mubāḥaṭāt is based, served to integrate the Mubāḥaṭāt into the line of Ibn Sīnā's oeuvre. As such, he ensured that the Mubāḥaṭāt would no longer be looked upon as a confusing oddity in the Ibn Sīnā bibliography, but rather representative of Ibn Sīnā's continuing intellectual development through debate with students and colleagues.

Bīdārfar addresses many of the fundamental interpretive issues related to the Mubāḥaṭāt in his introduction. He makes the very important point that the Mubāḥaṭāt was not a consciously constructed book composed by Ibn Sīnā and his students, but rather represents their private correspondence (p.

now edited, translated and provided a detailed study of the historical context of the letter in *Ibn Sīnā, Lettre au vizir Abū Saʿd* (2000).

²⁴ However, it is to be noted that Michot's arguments concerning the dating of the Mubāḥaṭāt (in this and other articles) on the basis of his study of the historical context is misguided. This issue is taken up in Chapter Four.

8). But a fundamental flaw in his opinions concerning the composition of the Mubāḥaṭāt is directly related to his reliance on the Later Recension as representative of the Mubāḥaṭāt in the early stage of recension. The structural differences between the manuscripts of the Earlier Recension and the Later Recension are interpreted by Bīdārfar in a way that is not supported in this study. Bīdārfar believes that these structural differences are to be accounted for by a parallel process of construction, undertaken in isolation from one another, on the basis of the original written materials (13ff.). In this study, it is argued that the Later Recension must have evolved from the Earlier Recension. In a somewhat obscure argument Bīdārfar maintains (p. 10) that the Scribal Note Attached to the Later Recension is to be taken as evidence that Bahmanyār was the first to organize the texts of the Mubāḥaṭāt into a collection. While the present study also identifies Bahmanyār as the earliest “recensor” of the Mubāḥaṭāt, a study of a manuscript not used by Bīdārfar (MS. British Museum Add. 16,659) suggests that it is this manuscript and not Bodleian Hunt. 534 (which Bīdārfar incorrectly refers to as 457) which represents that early stage of collection. Again, the methodological flaw evident in the editions of Badawī and Ülken is repeated by Bīdārfar: not all of the extant manuscripts of the Mubāḥaṭāt were studied before the editing process was undertaken.

A number of errors concerning the historical context of composition are also witnessed in Bīdārfar’s introduction, the most egregious being that he appears to believe that Ibn Sīnā himself wrote the “Memoirs of a Disciple from Rayy” (MIVa; see his introduction, p. 16). However, Bīdārfar’s analysis of the various groupings of manuscripts available to him is a valid one. He divides them into four groups, as does this study, although the characterization of each of the groups by Bīdārfar is not endorsed here.

While Bīdārfar is to be commended for undertaking a new “working edition” of the Mubāḥaṭāt, the most serious problems with his work have to do with his editing decisions. Because he assumed that all of the recensions of the Mubāḥaṭāt stemmed from one inchoate mass of discrete materials, Bīdārfar must have believed it was valid to attribute equal weight to the variants of all extant recensions. The picture of the recensional process that emerges from my study of all extant and available manuscripts of the Mubāḥaṭāt indicates that what Bīdārfar has produced is in fact a seriously contaminated modern witness to the manuscript traditions. Bīdārfar has mixed no fewer than four different recensions of the Mubāḥaṭāt, three of which have been manipulated by him to agree in structure with the Later Recension MS B that he used as his base text. This fundamental error has been compounded by the haphazard manner in which Bīdārfar employed the three other recensions; because he did not consistently collate all of the four recensions that he used we do not have even a printed version of all of the

available textual variants.²⁵ While Bīdārfar's edition of the Mubāḥaṭāt is surely an improvement over Badawī's edition of MS C and has allowed for new research into the Mubāḥaṭāt, if it remains the standard text for studies of the Mubāḥaṭāt, we will again see fundamental interpretive errors concerning the nature, contents, structure, and compositional context of the Mubāḥaṭāt seriously mar our research on Ibn Sīnā.

The degree to which an edition of a text has been successfully produced is nowhere more obvious than in the textual modifications that later translators of the text will have to make in order that the text be rendered coherently. In 1997, Michot published a translation of MIII, one of the letters from Ibn Sīnā to Bahmanyār that in part make up the Mubāḥaṭāt, in his "La réponse d'Avicenne à Bahmanyār et al-Kirmānī" on the basis of Bīdārfar's edition and regularly had to modify the textual readings of Bīdārfar in order to produce his translation.²⁶ Despite this handicap, Michot did produce perhaps the most important translation of any part of the Mubāḥaṭāt to date and, moreover, introduced it with another examination of the historical context of the composition of the Mubāḥaṭāt, adding to the whole detailed notes concerning the philosophical issues raised in MIII and their relation to Ibn Sīnā's other works. While Michot's conclusions concerning the dating of the Mubāḥaṭāt are contradicted by the findings of this study, his work has inaugurated a new direction in Mubāḥaṭāt studies since the publication of the Bīdārfar's edition.²⁷

This new direction is followed in a paper in press as of this writing by Dimitri Gutas entitled "Intuition and Thinking: The Evolving Structure of Avicenna's Epistemology."²⁸ In this paper, we find the felicitous combination of a study on a specific philosophical theme that includes aspects of its treatment in the Mubāḥaṭāt with the integration of the Mubāḥaṭāt as a textual witness to Ibn Sīnā's philosophy into the sequence of his other

²⁵ Bīdārfar's inconsistency is most readily discernible in his use of Badawī's edition of MS C, particularly with regard to the duplicate passages which that manuscript contains. For example, Badawī 37 and 318 are two versions of one passage. Bīdārfar collated only Badawī 318 because it most closely coincided with the text of MS B. In his Appendix (*Mulḥaq*), which he tells us contains whatever material in MS C not found in MS B, he does not include Badawī 37. In another instance, he neglected entirely to record the variants of Badawī 38 presumably because the text of MS B (at Bīdārfar 406) resembles it. These examples, and others related to MS L2, could be multiplied at will. See also the note in Chapter Four, Section O.

²⁶ The enthusiasm Michot expressed when he heralded the forthcoming edition by Bīdārfar in his "Une nouvelle oeuvre," 1992, p. 150, is somewhat tempered in his "La réponse," 1997, p. 144: "Tout insignes qu'en soient les mérites, l'édition Bīdārfar d'*al-Mubāḥaṭāt* est en effet loin de consituer le travail critique définitif...."

²⁷ Michot's latest publication, *Ibn Sīnā, Lettre au vizir Abū Saʿd* contains additional information on the historical context and the participants in the Mubāḥaṭāt correspondence, which I have relied upon for the study in Chapters Three and Four below. I thank him for providing me with an early draft and a copy of the completed work.

²⁸ To be published in *Aspects of Avicenna*.

works. The same textual problems occasioned by Bīdārfar's edition of the Mubāḥaṭāt which accompanied Michot's translation of MIII are faced again in Gutas's study, but it is a testament to the scholarship of both Michot and Gutas that this obstacle is addressed in a rigorous manner through their attention to all of the textual variants.²⁹

II. OUTLINE OF THE PRESENT STUDY

It should be clear from the preceding survey of scholarship on the Mubāḥaṭāt that a basic investigation of the textual issues related to this important collection of philosophical correspondence is required before research can move forward. While important studies of the Mubāḥaṭāt have been undertaken, this is more a testament to the achievements of individual scholars than to any communal satisfaction with the available editions of the work. If a satisfactory edition of the Mubāḥaṭāt is to be made in the future, it is imperative that the basic issues of content, structure, recension, and compositional context of the Mubāḥaṭāt be addressed. The following study attempts to address these issues.

A major concern for our understanding of the recensional development of the Mubāḥaṭāt is to determine the nature of the original codicological forms of the texts that now collectively make up the work. Chapter One, Part One assesses the extant references made by the participants of the correspondence to these codicological forms and compares these to the scribal references and critical apparatuses of the manuscripts. This study of the critical apparatus also allows us to identify the earliest recension of the Mubāḥaṭāt.

Chapter One, Part Two is a palaeographical and codicological study of the extant manuscripts of the Mubāḥaṭāt. On the basis of the conclusions reached in Part One and a working theory of structural characteristics, these manuscripts are divided into four different groups: independently circulating fascicles, Earlier Recensions (including what I believe to be the first recension or collection by Bahmanyār), the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension (the basis of Badawī's edition), and the Later Recension (the basis of Bīdārfar's edition). I have examined as many of the extant exemplars as I believe to be reasonably possible. Those manuscripts that I have not personally examined or which now appear to be irretrievably lost are also listed; in some of these cases, published descriptions of the manuscripts have made it possible to tentatively identify their structure, and thus the particular recension of the exemplar. A

²⁹ The work of Gutas and Michot done in spite of Bīdārfar's edition calls to mind the pioneering work of Pines undertaken in spite of Badawī's edition.

brief note on an important textual variant in the extant recensions of the *Mubāḥaṭāt* concludes this part.

Chapter Two addresses the Recension Process of the *Mubāḥaṭāt*. Based on the descriptions of the manuscripts in Chapter One and additional information gleaned from biographical and bibliographical material on Ibn Sīnā and the other participants, I set forth a theory concerning the recensional development of the discrete textual parts of the *Mubāḥaṭāt*. A very useful means for plotting the course of this development is to identify and properly assess the references to the title *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt* in related texts. To this end, I examine the contemporary and near-contemporary usages of this title. An important reference to the title is found in the putative Ibn Sīnā—Abū Saʿīd correspondence. My study of this correspondence suggests that this reference, and the Ibn Sīnā—Abū Saʿīd correspondence as a whole, is most likely a later forgery. Chapter Two concludes with a study of the term *mubāḥaṭāt* and related usages in the texts of the *Mubāḥaṭāt* which suggests that the title of the correspondence originates with the recensional development and not with the participants themselves.

Chapters One and Two are designed as a basic framework for future editorial work on the *Mubāḥaṭāt* by providing a conspectus of all known manuscripts and by developing a reasonable hypothesis of the medieval recension process. Chapters Three and Four are directed toward the issues of the compositional context of the correspondence now known as the *Mubāḥaṭāt*, the structure and arrangement of its individual texts, and their dates of composition. These chapters are intended to provide an interpretive matrix for the texts of the *Mubāḥaṭāt*.

In Chapter Three I develop biographical portraits of the three figures who engaged in the correspondence with Ibn Sīnā, viz. Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī, Bahmanyār, and Ibn Zayla, and attempt to characterize properly their respective roles and intellectual contributions to the philosophical correspondence.

In Chapter Four, I give synopses of each of the discrete parts that collectively constitute the *Mubāḥaṭāt*. Each synopsis contains a number of elements: a characterization of the text, an assessment of the correct place it occupies in the sequence of the correspondence, and its date of composition. These characterizations are based upon the theory that the structure of the Earlier Recensions more likely represents the original compositional order of the texts than the Later Recension (the order of which is followed in Bīdārfar's edition). In identifying the sequence of the texts of the *Mubāḥaṭāt* in this way it is hoped that scholars can begin to study the *Mubāḥaṭāt* as a textual record of sequential philosophical discussions, that correctly follow Ibn Sīnā's later intellectual developments.

Many of the appendices to the chapters of this study are intended to

provide tools for the textual study of the Mubāḥaṭāt in its many recensions. Appendices A-C will allow assessments of the two available editions of the Mubāḥaṭāt to be made, as well as provide a bridge between the two, so that textual studies may be profitably undertaken. Appendix D contains an edition of the introduction to one of Ibn Sīnā's letters to Ibn Zayla which was removed from that letter in the recension process; this introduction provides an interesting example of the relationship between Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Zayla. Appendix E lists what are here called Recensional Duplicates, i.e., different versions of many of the questions and responses which were collected in the Later Recension. Appendix F identifies the passages of Ibn Sīnā's other works (especially the *Šifā'*) which were the bases for the questions asked of him by his correspondents. These identifications will allow for research to be conducted on Ibn Sīnā's refinements of particular philosophical issues which were instigated by the correspondence. Finally, Appendix G provides a tabular chronology of Ibn Sīnā's life and works which allows for a graphic representation of the place of the Mubāḥaṭāt texts in Ibn Sīnā's bibliography.

TECHNICAL LAYOUT OF THE STUDY

I. MAJOR DIVISIONS OF THE MUBĀḤATĀT IN THE LATER RECENSION

The following division of the texts of the Kitāb al-Mubāḥatāt represent a modification of the divisions employed by M. Bīdārfar, the basis for which was first outlined by Y. Mahdavi. The studies of the manuscripts, recensions, and context of composition that follow here have allowed for this refinement of the divisions. These divisions are represented by the letter M (for the singular *Mubāḥata*) followed by the Roman numerals I-VI. My further refinements are represented by additional divisions identified by lower case letters and then, in some cases, numbers 1-2. The paragraph numbers are those of Bīdārfar's edition. A brief description of the contents of each text then follows. Bīdārfar's *al-Mulḥaq* (Appendix) represents a modern division of some of the texts of the Mubāḥatāt which comprises materials which are not found in some of the recensions. A discussion of the contents of this *Mulḥaq* can be found in Chapter Four below. In the following pages it is argued that Ibn Sīnā's "Letter to Kiyā" (the title of which I take from Gutas) does not properly belong to the group of texts, nor indeed the compositional context, of the Mubāḥatāt, but it has since been included in the two modern editions of the Mubāḥatāt by Badawī and Bīdārfar and is thus treated in this study. It is important to note that the sequential division of the Mubāḥatāt texts outlined here is based upon the order of texts in the *Later* Recension. This sequential order does not, in my opinion, reflect the historical progression of the texts (see Chapter Four below). But because, to date, only the Later Recension is readily available to readers (in Bīdārfar's edition), I retain that order in my analysis. Once a critical edition of the Mubāḥatāt texts that reflects their correct historical order is undertaken, the identifications of MI-VI will no doubt be re-arranged.

MI:	1-31: Letter to Bahmanyār
MII:	32-46: Letter to Bahmanyār
MIII:	47-74, 75-126: Letter to Bahmanyār
MIVa:	127-141: Ibn Zayla's "Memoirs of a Disciple from Rayy"
MIVb:	142-209: Responsa (Correspondence with Bahmanyār and Abū l-Qāsim)
MVa:	210-266: Responsa (Correspondence with Bahmanyār and Abū l-Qāsim)
MVb:	267-309: Responsa (Correspondence with Bahmanyār and Abū l-Qāsim)

MVc1:	310-352: Responsa (Correspondence with Bahmanyār and Abū l-Qāsim)
MVc2:	353-396: Responsa (Correspondence with Bahmanyār and Abū l-Qāsim)
MVIa1:	397-399: Bahmanyār’s Letter to Ibn Sīnā
MVIa2:	400-499: Responsa (Correspondence with Bahmanyār and Abū l-Qāsim)
MVIb1:	500-501: Bahmanyār’s Note to Ibn Sīnā
MVIb2:	502-567: Responsa (including Correspondence with Ibn Zayla)
MVIc:	568-798: Responsa (including Correspondence with Ibn Zayla)
MVId:	799-819: Bahmanyār’s <i>talḥīṣ</i> of parts of <i>al-Ilāhīyāt</i> of <i>aš-Šifāʾ</i> (818-819 are duplicates of 654 and 701 respectively)
MVIe:	820-843: Ibn Zayla’s <i>talḥīṣ</i> , and responsa
MVIf:	844-901: Responsa and dicta (including Correspondence with Ibn Zayla)
<i>Al-Mulḥaq</i>	1001-1157
[Kiyā:	1158-1162 (“Letter to Kiyā”)]

II. SIGLA LISTS OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

A. Chronological List of the Manuscripts

The sigla used in this study are complex and represent an ongoing process of assignment and elimination for a future critical edition. Not all manuscripts are assigned sigla here since reference to them in the present study is minimal. In the following list, I provide my abbreviations of the MSS with Bīdārfar’s abbreviations in parentheses. The numbers after the sigla represent two or more parts of the Mubāḥaṭāt in the particular codex. I have also added a brief note indicating how the MS was dated (further details can be found in Chapter One, Part Two): col. = colophon; own. = ownership note; names of individuals for the catalogue information or other studies, including the present one (Reisman).

G	Ayasofya 4855	500-733/1106-1333 (cols.)
Ş1-2	Leiden Golius 184	514-515/1120-1122 (col.)
	Istanbul Uni. 4755	588/1192 (col.)
C (س)	Cairo M6	6th/12th c. (Gutas)

B (ب)	Bodleian Hunt. 534	634/1237 (col.)
Y (ع)	Yahuda 308	677/1279 (col.)
A	Ambrosiana 150s	694/1295-6 (own.)
W1-2	Ayasofya 4853	7th/13th c. (Mahdavi)
L1-2 (ل، لـ)	Leiden Warner 864	717/1317 (own.)
	Köprülü 1589	753/1353 (Şeşen)
	Ayasofya 4849	781/1379 (own.)
I (ر)	Ayasofya 2389	9th/15th c. (Reisman)
T	Ahmet III 3447	866/1462 (Karatay)
Q, Q ₂	Landberg 368	880/1475-6 (Ahlwardt)
X1-2	Petermann II 466	889/1484 (Ahlwardt)
	Ahmet III 1584	914/1508-9 (Karatay)
D1 (د)-4	Miškāt 1149	962/1554-5 (own.)
	Hamidiye 1448	9th/15th c. (Mahdavi)
	Navvāb 45 Hikma	10th/16th c.
O	Istanbul U. 4545	10th/16th c.? (Reisman)
Ğ1 (م), Ğ2	Mağlis I 634	1043/1633-4 (col.)
H1, H2 (ه)	Tehran Uni. 2441	1052/1642-3 (col.)
Š1, Š2 (ش)	Marfaši 286	1072/1661-2 (col.)
	Miškāt 339	1076-1086/1665-1676 (cols.)
	Sipahsālār 1216	1091/1680 (col.)
	Mağlis II 1255	1091/1680-1 (col.)
N1-6	Nuruosmaniye 4894	11th/17th c. (stamp)
H1-2 (ن)	Āhūd 1187	10th-11th/17th-18th c. (Rawšān)
K1, K2	Köprülü 869	11th-12th/17th-18th c. (Reisman)
F	Feyzullah 2188	1112/1700-1 (own.)
	Pertev Paşa 617	1113/1701-2 (own.)
R1-2	Ragıp Paşa 1461	1139/1726-7 (own.)
M (ج)	Miškāt 1037	1171/1757-8 (Dānišpažūh)
E	Br. Mus. Add. 16,659	1182/1768-9 (col.)
	Mağlis I 14,473	12th/18th c. (Hūʿī/Hāʿirī)
	Ayasofya 4829	12th/18th c. (stamp; <i>waqf</i> note)
	Br. Mus. Or. 8069	12th/18th c. (Baker)
	Hamidiye 1452	12th/18th c. (<i>waqf</i> note)
S	Cairo Falsafa 349	1253/1837-8 (own.)
J	Tehran Uni. 15ğ	13th/19th c. (Dānišpažūh)
	Ṭalʿat 197	13th/19th c. (Reisman)

B. Alphabetical List of the Sigla and Unassigned Manuscripts

This list proceeds alphabetically according to the sigla of assigned manuscripts and the library name for unassigned manuscripts.

A	Ambrosiana 150s	694/1295-6 (own.)
	Ahmet III 1584	914/1508-9 (Karatay)
	Ayasofya 4829	12th/18th c. (stamp; <i>waqf</i> note)
	Ayasofya 4849	781/1379 (own.)
B (ب)	Bodleian Hunt. 534	634/1237 (col.)
	Br. Mus. Or. 8069	12th/18th c. (Baker)
C (ی)	Ḥikma 6M	6th/12th c. (Gutas)
D1 (د)-4	Miškāt 1149	962/1554-5 (own.)
E	Br. Mus. Add. 16,659	1182/1768-9 (col.)
F	Feyzullah 2188	1112/1700-1 (own.)
G	Ayasofya 4855	500-733/1106-1333 (cols.)
Ğ1 (م), Ğ2	Mağlis I 634	1043/1633-4 (col.)
H1, H2 (ه)	Tehr. Uni. 2441	1052/1642-3 (col.)
	Hamidiye 1448	9th/15th c. (Mahdavi)
	Hamidiye 1452	12th/18th c. (<i>waqf</i> note)
Ḥ1-2 (ن)	Āḥūnd 1187	10th-11th/17th-18th c. (Rawšān)
I (ر)	Ayasofya 2389	9th/15th c. (Reisman)
	Istanbul Uni. 4755	588/1192 (col.)
J	Tehran Uni. 15ğ	13th/19th c. (Dānišpažūh)
K1-2	Köprülü 869	11th-12th/17th-18th c. (Reisman)
	Köprülü 1589	753/1353 (Şeşen)
L1-2 (ل، لر)	Leiden Warner 864	717/1317 (own.)
M (ج)	Miškāt 1037	1171/1757-8 (Dānišpažūh)
	Mağlis I 14,473	12th/18th c. (Ḥūʿī/Ḥāʿirī)
	Mağlis II 1255	1091/1680-1 (col.)
	Miškāt 339	1076-1086/1665-1676 (cols.)
N1-6	Nuruosmaniye 4894	11th/17th c. (stamp)
	Navvāb 45 Ḥikma	10th/16th century
O	Istanbul Uni. 4545	10th/16th c. (Reisman)
	Pertev Paşa 617	1113/1701-2 (own.)
Q, Q ₂	Landberg 368	880/1475-6 (Ahlwardt)
R1-2	Ragıp Paşa 1461	1139/1726-7 (own.)

S	Cairo Falsafa 349	1253/1837-8 (own.)
	Sipahsālār 1216	1091/1680 (col.)
Š1, Š2 (ش)	Marʿašī 286	1072/1661-2 (col.)
Š1-2	Leiden Golius 184	514-515/1120-1122 (col.)
T	Ahmet III 3447	866/1462 (Karatay)
	Ṭalʿat 197	13th/19th c. (Reisman)
W1-2	Ayasofya 4853	7th century (Mahdavi)
X1-2	Petermann II 466	889/1484 (Ahlwardt)
Y (ع)	Yahuda 308	677/1279 (col.)

III. OTHER SIGNS AND ABBREVIATIONS

A. Editions of the Mubāḥaṭāt. In most cases, I refer to or translate paragraphs of Bīdārfar’s edition. Often the reference to Bīdārfar’s edition takes the form MIII:49; this refers to the major division of the Mubāḥaṭāt texts (see above, Section I) with the paragraph number following the colon. I specify my use of Badawī’s edition by preceding the passage with “Badawī.” To further shorten these references, I occasionally use the abbreviations Bī(dārfar) and Ba(dawī). An additional peculiarity of Badawī’s edition is his duplication of the paragraph numbers 167 and 168 for paragraph numbers that should be 267 and 268; I distinguish these by 167a, 168a, and 167b, 168b.

B. References to Catalogues. The catalogues of Mahdavi, Anawati, and Ergin are referred to by the authors’ names, followed by the entry number of the work, unless the reference is to p(age) numbers.

C. Dates. Where two years are separated by a / solidus, the first refers to the *hiḡrī* calendar, the second to the common era (C.E.). For Iranian publications that use the *šamsī* dating, I indicate this in the first date with the abbreviation Š.

D. Transliteration of Arabic and Persian. The transliteration follows the rules of the *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft* for both Arabic and Persian, with the exception of *aw* and *ay* for diphthongs instead of *au* and *ai*, and *ā* instead of *ā* for the *alif maqṣūra*. The Persian *-h* (representing the *tā’ marbūṭa*) is retained, and the Persian *iḏāfah* is represented as *-i* or *-yi*. Each part of the Arabic names stands separately and is capitalized.

E. Abbreviations used in the apparatus to the Arabic texts or Arabic passages

* Asterisk Followed by a number: refers to the number of the occurrence of a word in a line of text

add[ed in]	Additional text found in exemplar
codd.	Codices agree in reading
conj[ected by]	Conjectured reading followed by identity of editor
corr[ected by]	Correction of the <i>rasm</i> of a word or phrase
lec[tio] diff[icilior]	The choice of a more difficult reading of an exemplar
marg[inal note]	Marginal note in exemplar
[nus]ḥ[a] or ځ	Variant reading in margin of exemplar
om[itted in]	Text omitted in exemplar
read[ing of]	Reading of unpointed or wrongly pointed (<i>taṣḥīf</i>) <i>rasm</i> by editor
rep[eated in]	Text is repeated in exemplar
super.	Text in exemplar is written in superscript above the line
z[unna]	“presumably;” scribe’s conjectural reading in margin of exemplar
voc[alized by]	Vocalization suggested or corrected by editor
x	In critical apparatus employing transliterated Arabic, this represents an undotted consonant.

Note also that the abbreviations S(uʿāl), Ğ(awāb), and (bi-ḥaṭ)Ṭ(ihī) are found in the manuscripts of the Mubāḥaṭāt and are regularly employed here.

F. Brackets, Parentheses, and Lines

[] Square brackets	In Arabic text these are used to seclude text; identity of the editor who so secludes is found in the critical apparatus. In some cases, they also enclose descriptive remarks, such as that there is a “space” in the manuscripts, or for “sic.” In translations of Arabic, these enclose my explanatory additions to the text.
() Parentheses	In translations these enclose an author’s explanatory additions.
< > Angle brackets	In Arabic text these enclose my conjectural additions, with the exception of paragraph numbers so enclosed, added by me.
	In the critical apparatus, these separate the records of readings in the same line of text.

CHAPTER ONE

PART ONE: THE CODICOLOGICAL CONTEXT

I. INTRODUCTION

In many ways, the preservation and transmission of the written record of Ibn Sīnā's philosophy proved to be a singularly disastrous affair. Within his own lifetime many of his major works either lacked widespread circulation (even by the standards of the time), or were lost to the plunder of war. The copies of his first two major philosophical compositions, *al-Ḥāṣil wa-l-maḥṣūl* and *al-Birr wa-l-iṭm*, appear to have been hoarded by Ibn Sīnā's patron Abū Bakr al-Baraḳī. Ibn Sīnā tells us in his Autobiography that "these two works exist only in his possession, for he has not loaned out either one of them to be copied."¹ In 421/1030, when the Ġaznavid Mas'ūd sacked Iṣfahān, a number of Ibn Sīnā's works were plundered by the invading troops and presumably destroyed. The most significant loss from this unfortunate encounter was *Kitāb al-Inṣāf*. Two works-in-progress, which Ibn Sīnā calls *al-Ḥikma al-ʿarṣīya*² and *al-masāʾil al-maṣriḳīya*, were also lost, and the

¹ Gohlman, 40/41. I have slightly modified Gohlman's translation. For a discussion of the survival of these two works, see Gutas, *Avicenna*, 94ff. Gutas seems to imply that *al-Ḥāṣil wa-l-maḥṣūl* and *al-Birr wa-l-iṭm* were parts of one work, which he terms the "theoretical" and the "practical" parts respectively (pp. 94-5). However, Ibn Sīnā's description in his Autobiography does not support this. He tells us (Gohlman, 38-9/40-1)

I composed *The Available and the Valid* for [Abū Bakr al-Baraḳī] in about twenty volumes, and I also composed for him a book on Ethics which I called *Piety and Sin*. These two books exist only in his possession. [emphasis added]

Equally, the anonymous Longer Bibliography clearly distinguishes the two works, the first in twenty volumes, the second in two volumes (see Gohlman, 92/93). As for the issue of the circulation of the two works, Ibn Sīnā provides two somewhat contradictory indications, at least with regard to *al-Birr wa-l-iṭm*. As we learn from the Autobiography, al-Baraḳī did not loan out the copy Ibn Sīnā presented to him. But Ibn Sīnā refers to the work in *aṣ-Ṣifāʾ: al-Ilāhīyāt* in such a way that it would appear to have had some circulation (see Gutas's transl., *Avicenna*, p. 95). A common compositional method of Ibn Sīnā was to transfer entire passages from one work to another, and it is possible that this passage in the *Ṣifāʾ* may derive from an earlier work (e.g., *al-Ḥikma al-ʿArūḍīya*). Al-Bayhaqī, whose information must always be evaluated cautiously, tells us of the final fate of a copy of *al-Ḥāṣil wa-l-maḥṣūl*: "There was a copy of it, now lost, in the library in Būzjān" (transl. Gutas, *Avicenna*, p. 95).

² Ibn Sīnā may have re-written this work, if the *Ḥikma al-ʿarṣīya* referred to in MII is identical to the text now published in a variety of places as *ar-Risāla al-ʿarṣīya* (text in *Maḡmūʿat rasāʾil aṣ-Ṣayḥ ar-Raʾīs Abī ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Sīnā al-Buḥārī*, Hayderabad, 1354/1935); and edited more recently by Ibrāhīm Hilāl, *ar-Risāla al-ʿarṣīya fī ḥaqāʾiq at-tawḥīd wa-l-iḥbāt an-nubūwa*, on the basis of the Hayderabad publication and MS Maḡlis 7851; English translation by A.J. Arberry, *Avicenna on Theology*, pp. 25-37; German translation by Egbert Meyer, "Philosophischer Gottesglaube: Ibn Sīnās Thronschrift." However, I am not convinced

Išārāt wa-t-tanbīhāt narrowly escaped a similar fate.³ Al-Ğūzğānī tells us that Ibn Sīnā had written up some medical observations⁴ in quires (*ağzā*) for inclusion in his *al-Qānūn*, but that these records were lost before the completion of the work.⁵

Ibn Sīnā's attitude toward the written record of his intellectual career is also partially to blame. Al-Ğūzğānī remarks on the composition of the *Šifā'* that "the hope of ever obtaining his [Ibn Sīnā's] lost works having dimmed, we asked him to rewrite them and he said, 'I have neither the time nor the inclination.'"⁶ Al-Ğūzğānī summarizes his master's attitude toward preserving his works in a way that leaves little doubt about Ibn Sīnā's lack of interest in this matter: "he had written many works, but he would rarely withhold them and showed little interest in keeping copies."⁷ Indeed, al-Ğūzğānī articulates the chief goal of his relationship with Ibn Sīnā as the commitment to ensuring the survival of his master's works: "I was thus convinced that I should go to him and join his company, and regularly insist that he direct his attentions to writing while I concerned myself with preserving (*dabt*)."⁸ As we will see, this noble intention in the case of the *Mubāḥaṭāt* went unfulfilled.

Another cause of disorder in Ibn Sīnā's bibliography at the time of his death in 428/1037 was the relative state of incompleteness of at least some of his writings. For example, in the case of Ibn Sīnā's *Lisān al-ʿarab*, al-Ğūzğānī explicitly tells us that at the time of Ibn Sīnā's death the work "was still in draft copy and no one knew how to arrange it."⁹

that this treatise belongs to the authentic Ibn Sīnā corpus, for both the style and content suggest a post-Ibn al-ʿArabī environment.

³ The incident is referred to in four places: the Biography (Gohlman, 80/81); Ibn Sīnā's "Letter to Kiyā" (Bīdārfar 1158-1162, transl. Gutas, *Avicenna*, pp. 60-64 on the basis of MSS B and C); the "Memoirs of a Disciple from Rayy" (Bīdārfar MIVa, transl. Gutas, *Avicenna*, 66-72); and incidentally (Ibn Sīnā says he has survived some "life-threatening shocks") in MII. For additional discussion, see Chapter Four, Section II.B.

⁴ The term used by al-Ğūzğānī (Gohlman, 72.9) is *tağārib*, which Gohlman (75.pen.) incorrectly translates "experiments." Ullmann, in his review of Gohlman (*Der Islam* 52, 1975, p. 149) corrects this translation to "experiences," but "medical experiences" sounds somewhat contrived in English.

⁵ Gohlman, 74/75. Al-Ğūzğānī does not expand on the cause of this loss.

⁶ Translated by Gutas, *Avicenna*, p. 101; see also id., "Aspects of Literary Form," p. 31.

⁷ Al-Ğūzğānī's introduction to *aš-Šifā': al-Madḥal*, p. 1; translated by Gutas in *Avicenna*, p. 39.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Gohlman, 72/73. Al-Ğūzğānī's mention of the *Lisān al-ʿarab* follows his account of Ibn Sīnā's public humiliation by Abū Maṣṣūr ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿUmar al-Ğabbān (for biographical details, see Gohlman, pp. 133-4). The four extant exemplars of a series of extracts from *Lisān al-ʿarab* were used in the edition by I. Yarshater ("Risāla fī l-luġa," *Panğ Risāla*, pp. 13-31). The scribe who first copied the extracts says that the work was neither completed nor transcribed to clean copy, and that he saw a part of the work, some 130 folios in Ibn Sīnā's hand, but that their (disorganized?) state prevented a proper redaction (*tahrīr*), and so he chose to select some of the

These examples¹⁰ must inform a proper understanding of the transmission or, rather, creation of the work now known as *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt*. The two primary elements to shape the development of this work are the loss of written materials and the relative disorder of Ibn Sīnā's papers at the time of his death. A third element, that of the attempts made by later recensors to group Ibn Sīnā's papers into some cohesive form or forms, equally plays a role in the final versions of *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt*.

The studies of the manuscript remains of *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt* and the internal and external testimonia of the work presented in detail below support the following conclusions. It would seem that no work entitled *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt* existed in the lifetimes of Ibn Sīnā, Bahmanyār, or the other participants in the philosophical discussions. There is no evidence that any of the participants intended to compile a collection of these discussions under the title *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt* such as is extant in the various versions of the materials.¹¹ Finally, the materials that make up what is now known as *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt* underwent a series of generic transformations in form and content, culminating in the largest recension represented for instance by the Bodleian exemplar (i.e., what is called here the Later Recension).

This lack of authorial intention, filled by later editorial intention, makes it difficult to talk about a *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt* until a period in which both the work and the title have become a part of the accepted corpus of Ibn Sīnā's writings. However, one point is undeniable: Ibn Sīnā, Bahmanyār, Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī, Ibn Zayla, and a participant known only as 'Abd al-Malik did engage in discussions of philosophical issues raised by or

more wonderful parts for copy (op. cit., 7.1-11). Interestingly, as Yarshater notes, one of Ibn Sīnā's definitions (the work was a book of *luḡa*, lexicography, as Ullmann, op. cit., p. 149, correctly noted, and not "philology" as Gohlman, op. cit., has it) was appropriated for the Ibn Sīnā—Abū Sa'īd correspondence (viz. on *al-qadā' wa-l-qadar*, see "Risāla," 10ff.). As will be seen below a similar process of appropriation occurred with some of the scattered parts of the *Mubāḥaṭāt* materials. The extant transcribed definitions in the *Risāla* are a peculiar mix of philosophical technical terminology, definitions of heterodox sects, and theological terms. They deserve closer study. Another work that Ibn Sīnā was prompted to write after his humiliating encounter with al-Ġabbān, and once they were reconciled it seems, since Ibn Sīnā dedicates the work to him, was the treatise alternately entitled *Asbāb ḥudūt al-ḥurūf* and *Maḥārīğ al-ḥurūf*, which deals primarily with phonetics. Apparently this work was sufficiently disorganized as to result in two recensions. Indeed, the exemplars of the two recensions (published independently by P. Ḥānlārī, Tehran, 1954, and M. aṭ-Ṭayyān and Y. 'Alam, Cairo, 1979), do not agree with one another across the manuscript traditions, as noted by J.L. Janssens, *Annotated Bibliography*, p. 49.

¹⁰ An additional factor to be considered in the subsequent survival of Ibn Sīnā's works are acts of nature and man: fire in the Ġaznavid library, according to al-Bayhaqī; and the public burning of Ibn Sīnā's corpus, drawn from both private and public collections, ordered by Caliph al-Mustangīd; see Gutas, "Avicenna's Maḍhab," p. 332 and the reference cited there.

¹¹ These two characteristics are mutually exclusive in some cases. While there is some indication that at least one version of *Mubāḥaṭāt* materials was by Bahmanyār, there is no indication that he intended to call that collection *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt*. See the discussion in Chapter Two, Section II.B.

within the context of Ibn Sīnā's philosophical system. These discussions took the form of written correspondences and a few written records of oral communications. Theoretically, if we are to speak of a *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt*, it would contain only these elements. Practically, however, a considerable quantity of other materials came to be included in the collections of Ibn Sīnā's papers now entitled *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt*, and it is this larger collection of materials that would be entitled *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt* and so referred to by later bibliographers and scholars who cited the work. Thus, the tension between what should and what should not be considered the *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt* is one that could be said to be imposed by the present study. For if the participants of these discussions did not intend to compile a work entitled *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt*, and the only *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt* to be described as such by later authors is one created by later recensors and containing additional materials, then the only real *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt* is the latter. However, one point is undeniable: there is an internal structural unity and intellectual continuity to those materials that make up the philosophical discussions undertaken by the participants listed above and this continuity is not shared by some of the other materials which are now a part of *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt*. While this judgment could be viewed as yet another editorial intention foisted upon the materials that make up *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt* (and one that perhaps lacks the legitimacy of the medieval editorial intentions in that it is modern and necessarily removed from the cultural context that created the *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt*), it nonetheless carries the weight of a viable interpretive principle for approaching the transmission history of the work and, in a more practical vein, allows for a working nomenclature to be employed when discussing the recensional evolution of the texts. Reference is regularly made below to *Mubāḥaṭāt* and *Accretional Mubāḥaṭāt* materials. The latter are judged not to be a part of the original philosophical correspondence for reasons developed on an individual basis; these reasons are made clear in the appropriate places. For purposes of discussion, however, it may be useful to list these *Accretional Mubāḥaṭāt* materials here: MIVa; MVIId; MVIe:820-4; 829-843; parts of the *Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension*; and Ibn Sīnā's "Letter to Kiyā."

II. CODICOLOGICAL TERMINOLOGY

A study of the manuscript traditions of *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt* provides strong evidence that the original material forms of the philosophical discussions were quite diverse. In a very broad sense, these forms can be divided into two types. There are the letters (internally referred to in the singular *kitāb*) MI, MII, MIII, MIVa, MVIa1, that were likely written on any measure of

paper ranging from a folio to a fascicle, depending upon their length. And then there is the smaller material format, containing discrete questions and responses or a series of such questions and responses; the sizes here range from scraps of paper to quires. While some of the details of these codicological forms have to be inferred from the extant exemplars of the parts of *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt*,¹² there is a fairly extensive body of testimonia from both the participants of the discussions (in this case, Ibn Sīnā and Bahmanyār) as well as later scribe-recensors. Additional incidental remarks from al-Ġūzġānī's Biography fill out the codicological picture of the compositional techniques of Ibn Sīnā and his contemporaries.

II.A. Terminology in the Texts

Within the *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt* materials themselves, there is a sizeable number of references to these codicological forms:

- i. MII:34. Ibn Sīnā refers to *al-Masā'il al-mašriqiya*: "As for the Eastern Questions, I had them packed up in their quires (*ağzā'*)...."
- ii. MII:34. Ibn Sīnā refers to *al-Ḥikma al-ʿaršīya*: "I also recorded some things from the *Throne Philosophy* on slips of paper (*ğuzāzāt*)...."
- iii. MIII:117. Ibn Sīnā calls this letter a *kitāb*: "As for [this next] question, I received it after I had finished writing this letter (*kitāb*)."
- iv. MIVb:147. Ibn Sīnā says: "Let him reflect on these questions in the manuscript of the *Išārāt* on its way (*nusha šādira*) to him."
- v. MVIa1:397. Bahmanyār's Letter to Ibn Sīnā, in which he describes the organization of his questions. "The servant Bahmanyār ibn al-Marzubān...respectfully served his highest presence [i.e., Ibn Sīnā] with a letter (*kitāb*) wrapped around loose folios (*awrāq*), questions, and disputations...."
- vi. MVIa1:398. Bahmanyār's Letter to Ibn Sīnā, in which he describes an earlier correspondence as a "letter sent off [to Ibn Sīnā] (*kitāb šādir*)."
- vii. MVIa2:458. Ibn Sīnā says: "...according to what we explained in response to this question in another folio (*waraq*)...."
- viii. MVIb1:500. Bahmanyār's Note to Ibn Sīnā, which, according to an anonymous scribe, was found "at the top of a piece of paper (*ruqʿa*) that contained some questions."
- ix. MVIc:666. Ibn Sīnā says: "I wrote about this distinction in the small quire (*ğuz' šağīr*), so let him reflect [on that] and use previous things for future ones."

¹² For instance, the independently circulating fascicles of materials described in Part Two, Section I provide us with an idea of their original size, as do the scribal remarks and apparatus discussed here below in Section II.B for those original forms incorporated into recensions.

- x. MVIf:852-860. A series of eight short statements, three of which also appear in the *Taʿlīqāt*, introduced as “found on a piece of paper (*ruqʿa*).”

The basic codicological forms used by Ibn Sīnā for compositions such as notebook style entries of philosophical points, responses to philosophical questions, correspondences, tracts and treatises, and books are relatively varied. The smallest form appears to be slips or scraps of paper (*ḡuzāzāt*), with a progression in size through pieces of paper (sg. *ruqʿa*), folios (sg. *waraqa*), and quires (*aḡzāʾ*) which could be both small (*ḡuzʾ ṣaḡīr*) and presumably large. Implicit in this progression would be a series of quires bound together as a book, referred to as a *nusha*, or manuscript copy. Admittedly, *nusha* is a generic term for a manuscript of any size, but Ibn Sīnā’s description of his *Kitāb al-Iṣārāt wa-t-tanbīhāt*, a fairly sizeable work, indicates that the *nusha* could be large. The generic term *kitāb* to refer to a letter or written correspondence is no more exact. The four letters found in the Mubāḥaṭāt materials differ greatly in size. Bahmanyār describes one of the packages (understood in a loose sense) which he sent to Ibn Sīnā as a “letter (*kitāb*) wrapped around loose folios (*awrāq*) [containing] questions and disputations.” This highlights the relatively insecure state of the material forms of the correspondence that collectively made up the philosophical discussions. If not bound as quires or books, the various parts of the written record of those discussions could easily become lost or disordered.

The participle *ṣādir*, “going out” > “sent off” is used twice (iv, vi) to describe two different types of material; it underscores the fact that the participants undertook the philosophical discussions for the most part at a physical remove from one another. There are indications in the Mubāḥaṭāt materials that at least some of the discussions were oral and then written down, but the vast majority of the discussions proceeded through written correspondence. Such a situation further lends itself to the subsequent disorder and loss of parts of the Mubāḥaṭāt materials. Depending upon the manner in which Ibn Sīnā chose to respond to Bahmanyār’s correspondence, whether in an epistolary format in which Ibn Sīnā reworded the questions or selected only parts of some questions to answer, or in a sequential fashion in which Ibn Sīnā wrote each response under a question from Bahmanyār, parts of the discussions were not preserved, as undoubtedly obtained in the first case (i.e., Bahmanyār’s actual questions were not preserved).

Al-Ḡūzḡānī provides us with some additional codicological information about the material aspects of Ibn Sīnā’s compositions. In recounting Ibn Sīnā’s procedure in composing a major work like the *Šifāʾ*, he says that Ibn Sīnā “wrote the major issues in about twenty octavo quires...[t]hen he set

the quires before him, took paper (*kāḡad* or *kāḡad*), examined each issue and wrote commentary on it.”¹³

Al-Ġūzḡānī also provides a detailed account of a situation in which Ibn Sīnā responds to written questions on logic sent by a group of scholars from Šīrāz. A very similar situation must have obtained in the correspondence that make up the Mubāḥaṭāt materials. The scholars of Šīrāz wrote down questions on logic in a quire (*ḡuzʿ*), sent it and a letter (*kitāb*) to one Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī by express courier (*rikābī qāṣid*), and al-Kirmānī presented both to Ibn Sīnā. Al-Ġūzḡānī then says: “...the Master ordered me to bring blank paper (*bayād*), so I sewed five quires [each] of ten Firʿawnī quarto folios for him (*ḡamsat aḡzāʿin, aṣarat awrāqin bi-r-rubʿ al-firʿawnī*).” Ibn Sīnā spent the night writing his responses on the five quires and in the morning handed them over to al-Ġūzḡānī to give to al-Kirmānī.¹⁴

Al-Ġūzḡānī’s first report provides us with information on one size of folio used by Ibn Sīnā. It also suggests that for systematic composition, Ibn Sīnā first composed a list of issues on one set of paper and then commented upon that list to produce the composition. In a case like this, Ibn Sīnā would necessarily produce duplicate material, if only in the section headings. The second report contains a wealth of information on Ibn Sīnā’s method of correspondence. We are given a description of yet another type and size of material format used by Ibn Sīnā, the quarto Firʿawnī folio. But we also learn that, while he was presented with one quire containing questions, he used another set of quires for his responses. It is not clear from al-Ġūzḡānī’s report whether Ibn Sīnā copied the questions into the quires on which he wrote his responses, or if he returned the original quire of questions with his quires of responses,¹⁵ but in Bahmanyār’s Letter to Ibn Sīnā (MVIa1) there is an implicit plea to Ibn Sīnā to add his responses under the questions on the same pages.¹⁶ So, separation of questions and responses also may account for some of the disorder in the remains of the Mubāḥaṭāt materials. Al-Ġūzḡānī’s report also tells us how correspondences were transported, i.e., by express courier; a similar term, *muḡtamil qāṣid*, appears in Bahmanyār’s Letter to Ibn Sīnā (398).¹⁷

¹³ Gohlman, 58/59; Gutas, *Avicenna*, p. 107.

¹⁴ Gohlman, 76/77-78/79.

¹⁵ If these questions are in fact the extant series of questions alternately entitled *Al-Aḡwiba ʿan al-masāʾil al-ʿiṣrīniya*, *ʿIṣrūn masʾala fī l-manʿiq*, and *al-Masāʾil al-ḡarībiya* in the manuscripts (see Mahdavi 8), and edited under the title *al-Masāʾil al-ḡarība al-ʿiṣrīniya* by M.T. Dānišpažūh in *Collected Texts and Papers on Logic and Language*, pp. 81-103, it would appear that Ibn Sīnā did not include the original questions of his Šīrāzī interlocutors in all cases or to a uniform degree of exactitude.

¹⁶ For additional discussion, see Chapter Four, Section II.H.

¹⁷ Incidentally, al-Ġūzḡānī’s second report also tells us how Ibn Sīnā tackled his correspondences: he wrote his responses through the night with a glass of wine at hand. This situation may account for the tone of some of Ibn Sīnā’s responses in the Mubāḥaṭāt.

This brief survey indicates that a variety of material forms were used for the composition of the *Mubāḥaṭāt*. The self-contained letters of these materials likely took the form of fascicles, or single quires of differing lengths, but the remaining materials, made up of discrete questions and responses, could have been written on any size of writing paper, ranging from a slip of paper to a small quire of folios. Nowhere in these materials as a whole is there the suggestion that they took the form of a bound manuscript. The variety of material forms, coupled with the nature of the discussions as a written correspondence, makes it very likely that the *Mubāḥaṭāt* materials as a whole could have become disordered. Ibn Sīnā's approach to his correspondences, i.e. his methodology of composition, may also have contributed to a certain disorder. In the letters, he does not include the original text of the questions put to him, and there is some indication from Bahmanyār's Letter (MVIa1) that in other instances Ibn Sīnā may not have written his responses under the questions, as would seem to have been expected or preferred by Bahmanyār. The manuscript exemplars of *Mubāḥaṭāt* and Accretional *Mubāḥaṭāt* materials that would collectively become the *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt* indicate that disorder of Ibn Sīnā's papers at the time of his death did in fact obtain.

II.B. *Scribal Terminology*

We possess additional pieces of information from later scribes and recensors that support the hypothesis that the materials which would eventually constitute the *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt* were in a largely disorganized state at the time of Ibn Sīnā's death and that they would pass through a series of draft stages before being collectively organized, albeit in different ways.

II.B.a. *Scribal Remarks in a Copy of Bahmanyār's Note to Ibn Sīnā (MVIb1)*

500. I found [the following] in Bahmanyār's hand at the top of a piece of paper (*ruq'a*) containing some questions: "Would that our most reverend master, the chief, the leader—may God prolong his high standing—see fit to respond to these questions in the usual august and generous manner."

501. And the Šayḥ [Ibn Sīnā] had written at the top of the page: "What man does not know exceeds what he does know and though he may know something in one way, it does not necessarily follow that he knows it in every way nor does that necessarily produce a gap in his knowledge, especially me with my admission of deficiency and your perseverance in research and investigation." Then [Ibn Sīnā] wrote the responses under the questions.

II.B.b. *Scribal Note Attached to the Later Recension*¹⁸

This note is found at the beginning of what is here referred to as the Later Recension, in the exemplars B (and its descendants D1, Ġ1), K2, and N1, as well as two other manuscripts, F and O, which contain less material than the first three major exemplars. In the descriptions of these manuscripts below, it is argued that the three major exemplars of this recension must derive from a common archetype. This posited common archetype is likely the original source of the note. The note has been transcribed in Mahdavī, p. 202, and twice in Bīdārfar's introduction to his edition of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt, pp. 10, 19, as well as discussed briefly in Gutas, *Avicenna*, p. 144.

السينات على الحواشى علامة السؤال والجيمات علامة الجواب وحرف
الطاء مع السين علامة لما وُجد من تلك الأسئلة أصولها فى الرقاع إما
بخط بهمنيار وإما بخط أبى منصور بن زيلة وكذلك هى مع الجيم علامة
لما وُجد من تلك الأجوبة تحتها بخط الشيخ الرئيس أبى على وما هو
عاطل منها لم يُظفر بالنسخة المسودة فعطل دلالة على أن المَعْلَم وُجد
بخط أحد السائلين المذكورين وكذلك الجواب بخط المسؤول عنه.

The *sīns* in the margin are an abbreviation for *suʿāl* [question], the *ġīms* are an abbreviation for *ġawāb* [response]. The letter *ṭāʿ* with *sīn* is an abbreviation for those questions whose originals were found on pieces of paper either in the hand of Bahmanyār or in the hand of Ibn Zayla. Similarly, *ṭāʿ* with *ġīm* is an abbreviation for those responses found under [the questions] in the hand of aš-Šayḥ ar-Raʾīs Abū ʿAlī. In those cases that have no [abbreviation] the draft copy was not to be had,¹⁹ so they are lacking in any sign that the source was found in the hand of one of the two questioners mentioned—so too [in the cases of] the response in the hand of the one questioned.²⁰

¹⁸ The designation for this recension is explained in Part Two, Section V.

¹⁹ *lam yuzfar bi-n-nuṣṣati l-muswaddati*. The active form of *zafira* with the object of the action preceded by *bi-* is found three times in the Autobiography/Biography Complex: *lā aẓfaru fihi bi-l-ḥaddi l-awsaṭi*, “[for those problems] in which I did not obtain the middle term” (Gohlman, 28.3); *zafirtu bi-fawāʾidihā*, “I acquired what was profitable in them” (Gohlman, 36.5); *zafirnā bi-hāḍihī l-maḡallati*, “we came into possession of this volume” (Gohlman, 70.9). An interesting variant to the text established by Gohlman is found in al-Bayhaqī's version of the Biography. Instead of Gohlman, 66.ult. *ḥattā ẓahara kaṭīrun mina l-masāʿili*, “until many problems came to light” (Gohlman, 67.pen., incorrectly treated the past tense of the verb following *ḥattā* as a subjunctive, and consequently translated the participle *ḥattā* as “so that”), we find a *lectio difficilior* in al-Bayhaqī, ed. Šafiʿ, 64.12, *ḥattā ẓufira bi-kaṭīrin mina l-masāʿil*, “until many problems were amassed.” This third person masculine singular conjugation of the passive verb with the object placed after the preposition (see Ullmann, *Adminiculum*, pp. 68-76) is the intended construction in the Note above. Alternately, we might emend the reading to *lam naẓfar bi-n-nuṣṣati l-muswaddati*, “we did not obtain the draft copy,” but this would require us to ignore the evidence of all of the manuscript exemplars of the Note.

²⁰ We can add an additional observation to the use of abbreviations in the Later Recension which appears to go unremarked in this Scribal Note. In some instances, the letter *ʿayn* follows the

Reference is made to two sets of materials that would collectively make up this particular recension of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt. The first set consisted of pieces of paper (*riqāʿ*) containing the questions and responses in the participants' hands, although it is not clear whether or not the questions and responses appeared together on the same pieces of paper. Preservation of the identification of these hands was made in a rudimentary fashion by adding the abbreviation *ṭ* (for [*bi-ḥaṭ*]*ṭ*, "in the handwriting of") to the questions and responses. The second set consisted of other materials that were not in the participants' hands and thus were not given the identifying abbreviations. The first set of materials is explicitly referred to as a draft copy (*nusha muswadda*)²¹ because it is contrasted with the second set which is implicitly described as not being a draft copy. However, it should not be imagined that the first set of materials was a draft copy in the sense that these materials were bound together or were even organized in a way that reflected the development of the philosophical discussions. Rather, the *pieces of paper* are merely collectively referred to as a draft copy in the sense that they were holograph copies of questions and responses. A simple perusal of any given sequence of questions and responses in the actual manuscripts indicates that questions and responses with the *ṭ* abbreviation alternate with questions and responses lacking that abbreviation. Indeed, in some sequences, a question with the *ṭ* abbreviation is followed by a response without the abbreviation and vice-versa.²² Thus, the two sets of materials, holograph and non-holograph copies, were mixed together.²³

other abbreviations for "question," "response," and "in the hand of." This must have been used at one point to represent *ʿāṭil*, i.e. "lacking [an abbreviation]." A quick collation of the major exemplars of the Later Recension produces the following examples (with Bīdārfar's paragraph numbers). 256. ʿ N1, K2 : om. B. 302. ʿ N1, K2 : om. B. 412. *sʿ* B, N1, K2 : ḡ Bīdārfar (!). 607. *sʿ* B, N1, K2 : ḡ Bīdārfar (!). Yet to be explained are the abbreviations *f.w* (148), *f.r* (151), *f.h* (403), which three may resolve ultimately to one abbreviation read differently by the scribes. Clearly, there was a complex system of sigla employed in the Later Recension which broke down rapidly due to a lack of standardization and, hence, scribal ignorance.

²¹ It should be noted that *muswadda* need not always imply *per se* a draft copy; cf. Dozy's entry, *Supplément*, I:700a (who vocalizes *musawwada*). I thank H. Daiber for this reference.

²² For both examples, consult for instance Bīdārfar 400-450. However, it should be said that the exemplars of this recension do not always agree with one another in the placement of the *ṭ* abbreviation. In this regard, the information from the Note is important. It tells us that the original exemplar of the recension contained the abbreviations in the margins (*ʿalā l-ḥawāṣṣi*); such placement could easily result in confusion over which text in the *matn* was meant to be preceded by the *ṭ*. It should also be noted that some of the exemplars of this recension (e.g., MSS F, O) display the abbreviations in the margin, which is consistent with the information in the Note, but MS B, for example, has the abbreviations in the *matn*. This further supports the hypothesis that MS B cannot be the original exemplar of the recension, as such placement is not consistent with the information gathered from the Note (see the discussion in Part Two, Section V).

²³ This must be the case, for otherwise if this "draft copy" of pieces of paper was in fact bound together, or at the least kept together in some fashion, we would find all of the questions and responses with *ṭ* abbreviations together in the exemplars of this recension and preceded or

II.B.c. *The Critical Apparatus of MS E*²⁴

A relatively sophisticated critical apparatus is to be found in this exemplar in the form of marginal scribal notes. The information gleaned from this critical apparatus allows us to identify MS E as an exemplar of Bahmanyār's own incomplete collection of Mubāḥaṭāt materials. A brief explanation of four of these marginal notes will suffice to illustrate this conclusion as well as explain some of the particular details of the transmission process for this recension.

1. 202v, left margin with caret (for Greek *lambda*) over the title *Kitāb an-Nafs* in the *matn* (l. 15). The passage corresponds to Bīdārfar 176.

لم يجد بخطه. كذا كان فى نسخة الأصل التى كانت مقابلة مع خط
السائل أعنى [space] فى الأكثر عن خط المجيب أعنى الشيخ الرئيس. كذا
كان فى حاشية الأصل التى [sic] نقل عنه.

We didn't find [it] in his hand. Thus in the archetype which was collated with the copy of the questioner, I mean [space] most of the time, made from the respondent's copy, I mean aš-Šayḥ ar-Raʿīs [Ibn Sīnā]. This was found in the margin of the archetype from which [the present copy] was made.

Despite the mishandling of Arabic grammar, the point of the scribe's marginal note is relatively clear. Implicit or explicit reference is made to at least five copies: E; E's archetype, E's hyper-archetype; the questioner's copy; and the original holograph of Ibn Sīnā's response. The larger point is to note that the reference to *Kitāb an-nafs* in the text was not in Ibn Sīnā's hand, but was added in the copy of the questioner. The reference to Ibn Sīnā's *Kitāb an-Nafs* is situated within the context of a concluding passage: "So let him think about what is said in *Kitāb an-Nafs*; perhaps it is not this way" (Bīdārfar 176). The order in which the five copies are referred to in the marginal note is as follows (square brackets enclose my explanations).

"Not found in his hand" [was a marginal note found in E's hyper-archetype]
"...which was collated with the copy of the questioner" [the latter of which]
was "made from the respondent's copy," [and all of this] "was found in the
margin of the archetype from which [the present copy E] was made."

followed by questions and responses without the *ṭ* abbreviation. In other words, the two sets of materials would have been kept separate. Alternately, we would have to believe that the recensor of this recension consciously interpolated *ṭ* segments with non-*ṭ* segments, guided by a knowledge of which question went with which response and vice-versa. But nothing about this recension suggests that the recensor made any such detailed decisions about the order or indeed content of the material (although the larger structure of the recension was an imposed one). Rather, for example, what we often find are numerous repeat passages, some with the *ṭ* abbreviation, some without, in no particular order.

²⁴ I thank Adam Gacek of McGill University for reviewing and commenting on my analysis of this critical apparatus.

A graphic display of the order of copies is:

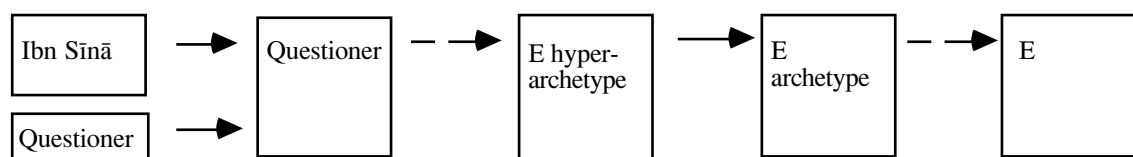


Figure 1: Order of Apographs of MS E

As is evident, three additions are necessary. First, there must have been two texts initially, one containing Bahmanyār's (the "questioner's") questions, the other containing Ibn Sīnā's responses. These two texts were then copied sequentially by Bahmanyār in his, the "questioner's," copy.²⁵ Second, the broken line between the questioner's copy and E's hyper-archetype emphasizes what is implicit in the marginal note. The note states that the hyper-archetype was only *collated* with the questioner's copy, not that it was copied directly from the questioner's copy. The scribe of the hyper-archetype thus used two copies, both an unidentified copy, as well as the questioner's copy which he used to collate the copy he had made from the unidentified copy. Thus, we must posit a level of two copies between the questioner's copy and the hyper-archetype. Finally, we have no way of determining how many exemplars may have come between E's archetype and E; the marginal note could simply have been copied verbatim in any number of intermediaries.

In this first marginal note, the identity of the questioner "most of the time" is left undecided, likely because the scribe of E was unable to read the name, an omission that is corrected to "Bahmanyār" in later marginalia. The single most important piece of information to be garnered from this marginal note is that the first recension of materials now known as the Mubāḥaṭāt was undertaken, reasonably enough, by Bahmanyār, the unidentified "questioner" of this first note.

2. 205v, left margin, with caret over "فى" in the *matn* (l. 27). The passage as a whole corresponds to Bīdārfar 253.

كذا فى نسخة الأصل التى قد قوبل [sic] مع نسخة كانت بخط السائل
والجيب أعنى بهمنيار <و> الشيخ.

Thus in the archetype, which was collated with a copy in the hand of the questioner and the respondent, I mean Bahmanyār and the Šayḥ.

²⁵ This is based on the assumption that Ibn Sīnā's copy did not contain the questions to which he responded, but rather that there were two sets of materials, one with questions, the other with answers, each in the respective hand of the participants. If Ibn Sīnā had copied the questions onto another sheet while adding his responses, so that both were in his hand, there would have been no purpose to the rudimentary identification system of hands explained in the Scribal Note of the Later Recension (explained in II.B.b above).

The editorial addition of <wa-> made here may mask a lengthier lacuna of words (lost to the binding of the manuscript) similar to those in the first example, scil. “made from the respondent’s copy, I mean...”. Otherwise we are forced to understand that the text was found in both Bahmanyār’s and Ibn Sīnā’s hands, an unlikely possibility considering the fact that this marginal note is found attached to the text of a letter (MI) written by Ibn Sīnā to Bahmanyār. However, the more salient realization to be had from this marginal note is that we find mention of the identity of the questioner, scil. Bahmanyār. The fact that there is no vacillation on this identity (i.e., whether this person was the questioner all of the time, or “most of the time”), as is suggested in the first marginal note, may suggest a distinction between the two passages. The first marginal note is found within MIVb and this may indicate that there was more than one questioner for that series of responsa. The second marginal note is found within MI, a letter in which the original questions asked by Bahmanyār are recast in an expository form by Ibn Sīnā for the purposes of his response.²⁶ The identity of the possible second interlocutor for the material of MIVb is not made explicit, but Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī has been identified as playing a major role in the early Discussions.²⁷

3. 207v, right margin, with “ۛ” (for *nusha uḥrā*) over “بذلك” in the *matn* (penultimate line). The passage corresponds to Bīdārfar 229.

كذا فى الأصل أى فى الأصل الذى قبول بخط السائل و المجيب به....

Thus in the archetype, i.e. in the [hyper-]archetype that was collated with the holograph of the questioner and respondent: *bihī*.

The scribe of MS E apparently copied both the *matn* and the marginal notes from his archetype the scribe of which in turn had copied from E’s hyper-archetype. E’s scribe has simply added the explanation that the marginal note did not originate with his archetype but rather with the hyper-archetype. Here, in the description of the holograph, the combination of “questioner and respondent” may be legitimately understood to mean a copy containing both hands. This would be one of the cases in which Ibn Sīnā added his responses under the questions that were in Bahmanyār’s hand, a system that is described in MVIb1, Bahmanyār’s Note to Ibn Sīnā.

4. 212v, right margin. This page contains a series of marginal additions. The first two such additions are followed by:

كذا كان فى أصل الأصل فى الحاشية

²⁶ The most common expository technique for recasting the questions asked in the letter to which Ibn Sīnā is responding in MI is the *ammā*-[fa] clause, e.g. *wa-ammā ḥallu masʿala...huwa...* (Bīdārfar 3), and *wa-ammā masʿala...fa-yaḡibu an yuʿlama*, etc.

²⁷ See Chapter Four, Section II.D.

“Like this in the hyper-archetype in the margin.” The scribe of E was uncertain where precisely the additions were meant to be placed in the text, so he simply copied them from the margin of his archetype to the margin of his own exemplar and inserted a superscript “ʿ” in the text at a general point before which he believed the additions were to be inserted. The important aspect of this marginal note is the direct reference to a hyper-archetype (*aṣl al-aṣl*).

II.B.d. *Sigla used for Demarcating the Boundaries of Fascicles*

The scribes of two very different collections of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt materials took pains to preserve the original division of their materials as found in fascicle form. These two collections are, first, the collection found in MS Leiden Warner 864 (L2),²⁸ and second, MS Bodleian Huntington 534 (B), an exemplar of the Later Recension.²⁹ In both cases, the scribes employed a common set of signs to delineate the beginning of a fascicle, the division of that fascicle into parts that represent the borders of the original scraps or pieces of paper, and the end of the fascicle. It is to be remarked that there must have been different sets of fascicles in circulation with differing contents, since only occasionally are the fascicle divisions in L2 and B similar. The fact that there were different sets of fascicles in circulation can be seen below in the manuscript descriptions of similar fascicles (Part Two, Section I).

II.B.d.1. The Sigla of MS L2.

While the scribe of Warn. 864 is not always consistent with regard to the signs he used to demarcate the conclusion of one section of text and the beginning of another, he clearly sought to provide a detailed record of the boundaries of his material. Two sigla are employed regularly: the circle with a dot, and three dots set in a triangle. A comparison of the boundaries set by these sigla with the order and contents of portions of other recensions suggest that these sigla are used to represent two limits. The first, the circle with a dot, appears to represent the end of a fascicle, and the second, the three dots set in a triangle, represents the end points of parts of text within a fascicle. So, for instance, a series of passages found in the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension³⁰ is found in the L2 collection within a general fascicle border, represented by the circle with a center dot, and the passages in that fascicle are separated by the three dots in a triangle. We find the same sort of delineation for passages common to L2 and the Later Recension (e.g., MS

²⁸ See Chapter One, Part Two, IV.A.

²⁹ See Chapter One, Part Two, V.A.a.

³⁰ See Chapter One, Part Two, III for the Ṣignāḥī Codex and Section IV for the shared material.

B). Thus, evidence from uncritical collections of Mubāḥaṭāt materials like L2 indicates a third stage of the preservation of those materials. Texts on slips or pieces of paper were transferred to fascicles, sometimes in the order in which they were composed, sometimes haphazardly; these fascicles were then copied in differing orders into collections like L2. Exemplars of the first stage, that is the actual slips of paper, are no longer extant, but exemplars of the second stage, discrete fascicles constructed from those slips of paper, seem to be preserved in collections like L2 where the boundaries of those fascicles have been retained through the use of textual sigla.³¹

II.B.d.2. The Sigla of MS B.

The evidence from MS B is actually the work of two different scribes: the original scribe of MS B, and a later scribe who collated another exemplar in the margins of MS B. There are three hands at work in the margins of MS B; the hand that records the evidence presented here is the second, a round *nash*. At folio 80v.9, the original scribe of MS B marked the end of a passage by using a circle with a center dot, followed by a gap and then the abbreviation *há*, for *intahá*, “[the section] ended here.” The scribe responsible for the third set of marginalia has added in the margin:

يتلو الموضع الخالى أوّل القائمة التى بعد هذه الى آخرها بكمالها

After this blank gap there follows the beginning of the page³² which comes after this [current page] to its end in its entirety.

In the bottom right margin at the end of the page, the same scribe has noted:

تنبّه أيّها القارئ إذا بلغت آخر السطر الآخر فإنّ الذى يتلوه أوّل القائمة
الآخرى وهو قوله يفعله

Be alerted, reader: when you reach the end of the last line, then what follows it is the beginning of another page, [beginning with] his word *yafʿaluhū*.

What this unknown scribe appears to be doing is demarcating the boundaries of materials. These demarcations do not seem to be those of the exemplar he is using to collate MS B, but rather the original materials (or at least indications of the boundaries of those original materials found in his exemplar). The scribe of MS B has given a rough idea of these boundaries himself, for it was he who wrote the circle and dot followed by a gap and then the

³¹ Actual examples of these fascicles are found in Section I.A of Part Two below.

³² For the use of *qāʾima* to mean *waraqa*, “page”, see Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Tāğ al-ʿarūs*, 17:595a.

abbreviation *há*. The unknown scribe of the marginal notes explains that demarcation but also adds an explanation not found in MS B. His explanation is twofold: a new page of the original materials begins at 80v, line 9 in MS B, and ends with the last line of leaf 80v, after which another page of the original materials begins, at 81r.1. The scribe of MS B did not note this latter demarcation. However, it is unclear why the unknown scribe chose to make such annotations at this particular place in MS B. Ibn Sīnā's text does seem to continue without interruption on the next "page," so the unknown scribe cannot be indicating some sort of disruption. Whatever the reasons, both the sigla employed by the scribe of MS B and the annotations by the unknown scribe who later collated MS B with another exemplar serve to demarcate the boundaries of the fascicles used for the collection.

III. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION OF PART ONE

The information derived from these scribal observations further refines the picture of the state of the materials that would collectively constitute *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt*. We have seen that a variety of material forms (ranging from scraps of paper to quires of folios) were used by Ibn Sīnā and the other participants in the philosophical discussions. The scribal Note attached to the Later Recension indicates that the original *Mubāḥaṭāt* materials were also found in a variety of hands; specifically mentioned are those of Ibn Sīnā, Bahmanyār, and Ibn Zayla. A given piece of paper may have been written on in at least two different hands, as is indicated in the scribal observations to Bahmanyār's Note to Ibn Sīnā, or one piece of paper may have had Bahmanyār's holograph copies of questions and another piece of paper Ibn Sīnā's holograph responses, as may have been the case with the original materials mentioned in the Note attached to the Later Recension, and which is also suggested in marginal note (1) in MS E. The Note attached to the Later Recension also indicates that, by the time of that collection, materials written in later anonymous hands were available.

The scribal information from the Note to the Later Recension and from the margins of MS E (which is an Earlier Recension) highlights the fact that the original materials were collected and copied in different ways. In the first case, an anonymous recensor had at his disposal materials in the hands of the participants and materials in later "clean" hands, the two sets of which he does not appear to have copied sequentially. This strongly suggests that the materials as a whole were in no particular order, and certainly not in an order that reflected the actual progression of the discussions. Furthermore, the fact that some of the materials were in secondary hands implies that some of the materials circulated independently of larger collections before

(and in some cases after) incorporation into larger collections. As we will see, this implication is born out by the manuscript evidence. In the second case, there is strong evidence that Bahmanyār transcribed materials in his hand and in Ibn Sīnā's hand into a "clean copy." Here, it might be assumed that the order found in the descendant of this transcription, MS E, reflects the correct historical progression of the discussions. However, of fundamental importance is the fact that the Earlier and Later Recensions do not contain the same quantity of material and, additionally, we have yet other Earlier Recensions that display additional differences in content and order of materials. All of this strongly suggests that differing quantities of material were available at different times and places for collection and that at least some of those materials (both Mubāḥaṭāt and Accretional Mubāḥaṭāt materials) circulated independently before and after different collection processes. Finally, sigla in at least two exemplars of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt materials were used to delineate the boundaries of the smaller fascicle forms of materials that made up the collection. It may be reiterated once again that this situation as a whole makes it very unlikely that a cohesive and comprehensive *book* with the title Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt existed in the lifetimes of the participants. It is much more likely that Mubāḥaṭāt and Accretional Mubāḥaṭāt materials, in different copies and versions, collectively constituted the disorganized "papers and correspondence" of the participants of the discussions.

CHAPTER ONE

PART TWO: DESCRIPTIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

The introductory characterization of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt materials presented in Part One must be confirmed by the manuscript evidence. There are some fifty exemplars of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt materials described and analyzed below. A number of different methods of organization may be employed for such a relatively large group of manuscripts, but very few such methods will allow for necessary assessments to be made about the inter-relationships and relative worth of the exemplars. The method of organization adopted here has resulted from the theory outlined above concerning the original forms and subsequent collection of Mubāḥaṭāt and Accretional Mubāḥaṭāt materials. This theory allows us to divide the descriptions of the exemplars into five different sections.

Section I contains descriptions of the exemplars of Mubāḥaṭāt and Accretional Mubāḥaṭāt materials that circulated independently of the Recensions; some of these also continued to circulate independently after the Recensions were made. There are two sub-groups to this section: Materials in Fascicle Form that circulated independently of the Recensions; and the self-contained Letters (distinct from responsa) which at times circulated independently of the Recensions. A number of observations can be made about these materials. The first is that groups of the original scraps and pieces of paper containing Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt materials were at various times copied onto larger mediums, i.e., quires or fascicles. This appears to have been a haphazard process and one which did not lead progressively to the Recensions, although the Recensions may evince origins in other such fascicles of materials. Second, the more stable forms of Mubāḥaṭāt and Accretional Mubāḥaṭāt materials, i.e., the Letters, circulated independently without any explicitly stated relation to a work entitled Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt. Third, some of the larger Accretional Mubāḥaṭāt materials, such as the summaries by Bahmanyār and Ibn Zayla, and Ibn Sīnā's Letter to Ibn Zayla, were incorporated into the Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt but also continued to circulate independently. Finally, some of the smaller segments of Mubāḥaṭāt materials, such as the discrete segments found in Ayasofya 4853 (W2), were appropriated for other purposes; this is particularly the case with the spurious Ibn Sīnā—Abū Sa'īd correspondence.

Section II describes the Earlier Recensions. These recensions display a common order to the Mubāḥaṭāt materials MI-MVc and MVla2 which is distinct from the Later Recensions. However, there are no fewer than four Earlier Recensions; they are distinguished by their differences in amount

and order of materials after MV1a2. In two of these Recensions (MSS A and L1) we find the incorporation of MIVa into Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt, an inclusion not evident in the other two recensions (MSS Y and E). The marginal critical apparatus of MS E, reviewed above, suggests that this manuscript may be a descendant of a recension undertaken by one of the actual participants of the discussions, Bahmanyār. In subsequent chapters, it will be argued that the general order of the Mubāḥaṭāt materials in MS E may very well reflect the historical progression of the discussions. This general order is reflected in the other Earlier Recensions, although additional materials appear to have been added in those cases. The extant exemplars of the Earlier Recensions also include manuscripts that are collectively termed the “Interrupted Version” of the Earlier Recension. This “Interrupted Version” was the result of folio disorder in one of the exemplars of an Earlier Recension. A preliminary identification of the Earlier Recension that was “interrupted” is offered in this regard.

Section III describes the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension. For the purposes of this study, Ṣignāḥī’s name is associated with this recension simply to indicate that this recension of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt materials is to be found in a codex of works by Ibn Sīnā copied by ‘Abd ar-Razzāq aṣ-Ṣignāḥī, a third generation student of Avicenna’s philosophy who apparently was active in the first half of the 6th/12th century. However, it is suggested below that aṣ-Ṣignāḥī himself was not responsible for the recension of materials found in his codex. The use of the term “recension” with regard to this collection of materials equally requires qualification. By modern definition, a recension is critical, that is, the recensor is guided in his work by the larger goal of correctly preserving the materials to reflect the actual historical text of its author(s). This critical spirit is nowhere evident in the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension, a fact which requires us to modify the definition of “recension” in its medieval form and identify other motives for the process discerned in the Ṣignāḥī Codex. It is suggested that, while the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension ultimately derives from one of the Earlier Recensions, the materials of the Mubāḥaṭāt in Ṣignāḥī’s codex were subjected to a very damaging revision process that sought to eradicate the historical context of the philosophical discussions, to condense series of questions and responses into one question and response or expository passages, and to dismember the self-contained Letters of the Mubāḥaṭāt into discrete passages, in short to disassemble that posited Earlier Recension. Another peculiarity of the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension is the presence of duplicate and, in some cases, triplicate versions of Mubāḥaṭāt materials. This suggests that the revision process discerned in this recension had not yet been completed when aṣ-Ṣignāḥī copied the materials into his codex.

Section IV describes minor collections of materials that appear to be

derivative of the *Ṣignāhī* Codex Recension and, ultimately, one of the Earlier Recensions, but which circulated independently of the Recensions.

Section V consists of exemplars of the Later Recension. The two main exemplars of this recension are MSS B and N1; they display enough substantive textual variants to allow us to suggest a common archetype. The exemplars arrayed in this category are grouped together on the basis of a structural order markedly different from the Earlier Recensions, by the presence of the Scribal Note concerning abbreviations discussed above, and by the inclusion of MVIa1 and MVIb1. However, it is to be noted that three of the exemplars of this recension contain a significantly smaller amount of material than the complete exemplars. Nonetheless, in each of these three cases, at least one of the defining characteristics of the Later Recension is present, thus allowing for inclusion in the category.³³ The arrangement of material in the Later Recension, if it does not represent the historical progression of the discussions (and this is the thesis adopted here), may be traced to an impetus to group similar materials together. Thus, very generally, we find the three letters from Ibn Sīnā to Bahmanyār and the Accretional Mubāḥaṭāt letter MIVa arranged together at the beginning of the recension, followed by series of questions and responses. This order then gives way to Bahmanyār's Letter to Ibn Sīnā (MVIa1) followed by a series of responsa, and Bahmanyār's Note to Ibn Sīnā (MVIb) followed by a series of responsa. It is to be noted that the Later Recension most likely derives in some as yet unknown fashion from an Earlier Recension, but it must also have drawn upon another source of material (for MVIa1 and MVIb1) not available for the Earlier Recension.

A few final explanations about the order of descriptions below is in order. Many of the larger codices of Ibn Sīnā's works contain multiple exemplars of *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt* materials. For instance, *Nuruosmaniye* 4894 contains both one of the Earlier Recensions and the Later Recension, along with many of the smaller "fascicle" forms of segments of those materials. A codicological description of the codex as a whole is found under the first entry ordered below.³⁴ The remaining entries in the next categories are simply listed. Under each category, the order of manuscript descriptions proceeds on the basis of the dates of the manuscripts. This does not imply a historical progression to the copying of the materials under that category. Exemplars with late dates of copy might very well descend from much earlier exemplars.

³³ In each case a comparison of textual variants with the complete recension confirmed the inclusion.

³⁴ One minor exception to this arrangement is the discussions of Leiden Warner Or. 864 in which some codicological details pertaining to the latter half of the codex are drawn out in Section IV.A as opposed to Section II.A.c. This was necessary to clarify fully the differences between the two sets of Mubāḥaṭāt and Accretional Mubāḥaṭāt materials found in the codex.

I. MATERIALS IN FASCICLE FORM CIRCULATING INDEPENDENTLY OF THE RECENSIONS

I.A. *Original Materials: Responsa and Dicta*

The following exemplars contain texts of the Mubāḥaṭāt which most likely go back to the original forms of fascicles written by the participants. Most of these texts were eventually incorporated into the Recensions of the Mubāḥaṭāt, but some also continued to circulate independently of the Recensions.

I. A.a. *Leiden Golius 184 (§1, §2)*³⁵ [Copied 514-515/1120-1122]

The scribe provides his name and dates of copying in the colophons to two treatises. At the end of Ibn Sīnā's *On the Construction of Astronomical Instruments* (62r), Vandarīn ibn Rūzbihān tells us that he finished his copy on 17 Raḡab 514/12 October 1120 "in his own hand" (*bi-ḥaṭṭihī*).³⁶ And he dates his copy of the Ibn Sīnā—Bīrūnī correspondence (65v-86v) to 16 Dū l-Ḥiḡga 515/25 February 1122, stating that he "copied it for himself" (*li-nafsihī*). Ibn Rūzbihān also compiled a table of contents for the codex on leaf 1r. In addition, there is an ownership note on leaf 1r, by one Muṣliḥ ibn Ḥamīd ibn Ḍayf al-Arabšahrī (?), who tells us that he acquired the codex sometime in the 7th/13th century (only the six of the six hundred is clear). This owner is responsible for the tract in praise of Muḥammad on leaf [-1v], as well as a treatise he entitled *Qāla baʿdu l-ḥukamāʾ* (ff. 62v-63r) which he copied in 681/1282-3.

In addition to the treatise and correspondence by Ibn Sīnā that were dated by the scribe, the codex contains minor treatises by Bahmanyār, Ibn Zayla, Ibn Sīnā, Ibn al-ʿAmīd, al-Fārābī, and Ibn al-Ḥayṭam. The very early date of copy for this manuscript requires that the information it presents about works by Ibn Sīnā, Bahmanyār, and Ibn Zayla be considered very carefully in relation to the transmission of those works.

E. Wiedemann and T. Juynboll were the first Western scholars to signal the importance of the unicum of Ibn Sīnā's *On the Construction of Astronomical Instruments* in this codex.³⁷ The complete title of the work in this manuscript includes a descriptive characterization of the treatise which states that the work should be added to (*wa-sabīluhā an tuḍāfa*) the notes (*lawāḥiq*) on *Kitāb al-Maḡisfī* that constitute part of the Book of Notes (*Kitāb al-Lawāḥiq*).

³⁵ For the original rudimentary descriptions of the contents of this codex as a whole, see CCO, 3:93, 94, 202-3, 312-313, 324, 336-338, 340-342. A corrected contents list and codicological comments can be found in my "Avicenna at the ARCE," in *Aspects of Avicenna*.

³⁶ On the name Vandarīn, which apparently is rare and may be local to Māzandarān, see A.H. Morton, "Dinars from Western Māzandrān," *Iran, JBIPS* 25 (1987), n. 63.

³⁷ "Avicennas Schrift über ein von ihm ersonnenes Beobachtungsinstrument," with the Arabic text and facing German translation; reprinted in *Gesammelte Schriften zur arabisch-islamischen Wissenschaften*.

Because there is no extant exemplar of a text entitled *Kitāb al-Lawāḥiq* among Ibn Sīnā's works, it is difficult to properly assess the significance of this description of Ibn Sīnā's *On the Construction of Astronomical Instruments*.

D. Gutas has noted that al-Ġūzġānī makes no explicit reference to a work entitled *Kitāb al-Lawāḥiq* in his bibliography of his master's corpus, and that the title in later bibliographies seems to be based solely on Ibn Sīnā's own references to such a work in *The Cure*.³⁸ For this reason, Gutas minimized the importance of the descriptive title we find in Gol. 184. However, the descriptive title of the treatise in Gol. 184 need not be interpreted as an *identification* of the treatise as one belonging to a *Kitāb al-Lawāḥiq*. Rather, we might accord the author of the descriptive title a certain knowledge about the nature of or methodology employed in the *Kitāb al-Lawāḥiq*, by which he was able to note a similarity between the treatise and *Kitāb al-Lawāḥiq*. Whether or not this knowledge on the part of the author of the descriptive title is to be attributed to an interpretation of Ibn Sīnā's own characterizations of *Kitāb al-Lawāḥiq* is impossible to determine at present; there simply is not enough other evidence concerning the existence and transmission of a *Kitāb al-Lawāḥiq* with which to make an informed decision. But the important point overlooked by scholars who have studied this descriptive title is that it evinces a detailed familiarity with Ibn Sīnā's works on the part of its author. Unquestionably, this author was either familiar enough with Ibn Sīnā's other works to have properly evaluated the sparse and scattered references by Ibn Sīnā in those works to a *Kitāb al-Lawāḥiq*, or he had access to a source of information no longer available to us.³⁹ It matters little whether or not we can identify the author of the note with the scribe of the codex, i.e., Ibn Rūzbihān. Ibn Rūzbihān may have composed the descriptive title or he may have had access to a copy of the treatise which contained the descriptive title. In either case, we can be confident that Gol. 184 represents an important source for the transmission of the works it contains.

Ibn Rūzbihān's codex contains two texts which came to be included in certain recensions of *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt* but which originally existed as independent treatises attributed to Bahmanyār and Ibn Zayla.⁴⁰

³⁸ *Avicenna*, p. 142, n. 1; the authenticity of al-Ġūzġānī's Bibliography (the so-called Shorter Bibliography) is questioned in Chapter Two, Section III.c.

³⁹ It is unlikely that the author derived his knowledge from the later bibliographies of Ibn Sīnā's works for two reasons: his descriptive title pre-dates those later bibliographies, and at any rate there is not enough descriptive information about *Kitāb al-Lawāḥiq* in those bibliographies to result in such an informed characterization.

⁴⁰ I use the term "independent" to describe the treatises by Bahmanyār and Ibn Zayla in the sense that they were originally independent of *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt*. But the treatises themselves, as synopses (*talāḥīs*), are derivative of Ibn Sīnā's works. The codex also includes a brief note on the numbers as the principles of the world (89r) entitled *Faṣl li-Abī l-Ḥusayn Bahmanyār*. Gutas

I. A.a.1 (1).⁴¹ 6v-11v. *Risāla fī mawḍūʿ ʿilm mā baʿḍ aṭ-ṭabīʿa*.

Ibn Rūzbihān gave the work this title in his contents list on leaf 1r, but not at the beginning or end of the treatise itself; the title is likely derived from the first phrase of the treatise. In other exemplars (see below), it bears the title *Itbāt al-mabdaʾ al-awwal*. Y. Maḥdavī (133, pp. 259-60) is to be credited with noting not only that the treatise would find a place in some recensions of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt, but also that the work is a synopsis of parts of the *Ilāhīyāt* of Ibn Sīnā's *aš-Šifāʾ*.⁴² S. Poper published the text from Gol. 184 and translated the work in his *Behmenjar Ben el-Marzuban*. In this study it is abbreviated as MVI_d (see Bīdārfar 799-817 for the text).

Later Exemplars

I. A.a.1.i. Ayasofya 4849 [8th/14th c.]

21 x 13 (text: 16 x 8). Black leather and board with flap. Binding at top. Front cover has stenciled border with ovoid medallion and hanging knotted pendants. Paper is a brown medium rag. Ink is brown with red rubrics. 179 folios. Script is a good dotted *nash*. Marginal corrections and collation notes. An original index on leaf 1r has faded but has been copied to a front filler page more recently. The codex as a whole is entitled *Kitāb al-Maḡmūʿa min kalām aš-Sayḥ ar-Raʾīs*. There is one small Ottoman period stamp on 1r and 179r. The *waqf* note and stamp of Sultan Maḥmūd ibn Muṣṭafā II is found on leaf 1v. There are three ownership notes on leaf 1r, but all are lost to water damage; however, the date 781/1379 can be discerned in one. Ibn Sīnā's *maḡmūʿa* breaks off at leaf 166v; the remaining folios (164-179), bound with the *maḡmūʿa* at a later date, contain a fragment of *Risāla fī amr al-mahdī* by Ṣadr ad-Dīn al-Qūnawī (d. 672/1263), according to the index.⁴³ (1). 22r-25v. MVI_d. Here entitled *ar-Risāla fī itbāt al-mabdaʾ al-awwal*.

listed another copy of this note from the Ṣignāhī codex (see below, III) and hazarded the guess that it is by Ibn Sīnā ("Avicenna's Library," p. 13 and the additional reference there). The note was published by Badawī in his *Aristū ʿinda l-ʿarab*, p. 116.

⁴¹ The numbers in parentheses before descriptions of Mubāḥaṭāt materials in a given codex indicate the order of those materials in the codex. This is necessary because in many codices, different recensions of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt are found, but the order of discussion here differs with the actual order of the codex. These numbers in parentheses are to be distinguished from numbers without parentheses preceding the library and shelf number of a manuscript; the latter follow the order of the outline of presentation here.

⁴² See Bīdārfar's notes to the paragraph numbers listed above for the references to the *Šifāʾ* and now the refined collation presented below in Chapter Four, Appendix F. Ergin and Anawati listed this work independently of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt (E3, A175) under the title *Itbāt al-mabdaʾ al-awwal*. The author(s) of the Longer Bibliography ascribe it to Ibn Sīnā under the title *Risāla fī itbāt al-mabdaʾ al-awwal* and *Fuṣūl ilāhīya fī itbāt al-awwal*; see Gohlman, *Life*, 108-9, 151.

⁴³ No work with this title is listed by Brockelmann, GAL I, 449-50, S I, 807-8. Note that Marmura dated AS 4849 as a whole to the 7th/13th century (English intro. to his edition of *Itbāt an-nubūwāt*, p. x), presumably following Anawati 245.

I. A.a.1.ii. Nuruosmaniye 4894 (N5) [11th/17th c.]

35.5 x 24 (text: 24 x 12). 598 folios. Brown leather and board, ovoid medallions with pendants, border; flap with round medallion. Thin, yellowing European paper. Black ink, red rubrics. Leaf 1r contains the *waqf* note and stamp of Sultan Maḥmūd ibn Muṣṭafá II (r. 1143-1168/1730-1754) and another square stamp with date 11th/17th century (?). Leaves 1r-3v contain the list of works of the manuscript in red columns (4 x 7).⁴⁴

(5). 371v-372r. MVID. Here entitled *Risāla li-š-šayḥ...fī itbāt al-mabda' al-awwal*.

I. A.a.1.iii. Ayasofya 4829 [12th/18th c.]

36 x 26 (text: 24 x 15). 263 folios; 35 lines per page. Board and marbled paper, flap. Block is broken, flap is torn. Blank, unnumbered folios between treatises. Black ink. Good, mostly undotted *nash*. *Waqf* note and stamp of Sultan Maḥmūd ibn Muṣṭafá II (r. 1143-1168/1730-1754) found on leaf 1r. No colophon. Mahdavī (p. 337, n. 1) dates the manuscript to the 10th /16th century without explanation.

45v-46v. MVID, introduced with simply *qāla š-šayḥ*.

I.A.a.2 (2). 12v-20r. *Talḥiṣ li-š-šayḥ al-ḥakīm Abī Maṣṣūr li-ṣifāt wāḡib al-wuḡūd wa-anna-hā lā tūḡadu fīhi kaṭratun bal kulluhā dātuhū* (MVIe)

This is the title that appears at the beginning of the tract itself. Ibn Rūzbihān also calls it *Risāla li-Abī Maṣṣūr ibn Zayla li-ṣifāt wāḡib al-wuḡūd* in his contents list on 1r. It remains to be determined precisely from which work this tract derives.⁴⁵ It consists of a number of sections dealing with the attributes of the One and on the various connotations of the term “existence.” It is followed by a report and commentary on a response by Ibn Sīnā to a question directly related to the final section of the tract, and by a question by Ibn Zayla to Ibn Sīnā with Ibn Sīnā’s response. The material of this tract was eventually incorporated into three different versions of Mubāḥaṭāt materials: the compilation of fascicles found in L2; one of the Earlier Recensions (MS A); and the Later Recension (e.g., MS B). The material in all three of these versions displays a different order from the one found in Gol. 184. The following order represents the material as it is found in Gol. 184, following Bīdārfar’s paragraph numbers: 831-843, 820-823, 824, 825-6, 827-8. A possible explanation for why the material displays differing orders is that it originally consisted of fascicles that were ordered incorrectly by one of the recensers. Alternately, the re-ordering may have been intentional

⁴⁴ Anawati produced a seriously flawed contents list of Nuruosmaniye 4894 in “Avicenniana: Le manuscrit Nour Osmaniye 4894.”

⁴⁵ Bīdārfar’s reference (p. 295) to the *Šifā, al-Ilāhīyāt*, Part Eight, Chapter Four, p. 343, bears no real relation to the tract. It is tempting to think that it may be related in some way to Ibn Sīnā’s *Kitāb al-Inṣāf* for which Ibn Zayla had a peculiar fascination; see the discussions in Chapter Three, Section II.C, and Chapter Four, Section III.C.

(i.e., part of a recension process). The structure of the material in Gol. 184, however, appears to be the correct order.

Of great significance is the fact that there are no fewer than three versions of the text at 825-6 in the Earlier Recension in MS A and in the Later Recension. The text of 825-6 as it is found in Gol. 184 appears to be a narrative account of a discussion Ibn Zayla had with Ibn Sīnā on a question directly related to an issue in one of the sections of Ibn Zayla's *talhīṣ*. It is not immediately clear whether the question and response gave rise to the *talhīṣ* or the *talhīṣ* led to Ibn Zayla's question to Ibn Sīnā. In Gol. 184, Ibn Zayla presents Ibn Sīnā's response as a conclusion to the material that precedes it. He says: "so this is the meaning of what someone said, i.e...." The two other occurrences of Ibn Sīnā's response in the Earlier and Later Recensions are, again according to Bīdārfar's numbering, 615 and 867. At 867, we find a question (a *masʿala*) that appears to bear no relation to Ibn Sīnā's response, but the response is there introduced as "the response in Ibn Sīnā's hand" (*al-ḡawāb bi-ḥaṭṭihī*). Number 615 may be a secondary copy of Ibn Sīnā's response; it lacks the question. That the version of Ibn Sīnā's response appended to the *talhīṣ* is Ibn Zayla's *narration* of Ibn Sīnā's response is clear from his structural additions, viz. "then he said," and "then the discussion became abstruse, so he made an unequivocal pronouncement" (*fa-ʿtāṣa bihī l-kalāmu tumma ṣarraḥa bi-l-ḥukm*). The other material (see Bīdārfar 827-828) is presented as a question and response. The question is introduced as "the question of someone who raised doubts by saying..." after which the question and its implications are set forth; presumably it is Ibn Sīnā who responds by first saying "the response to [this question] is as the *Ḥakīm* says..." (*ḡawābuhū ka-mā qāla l-Ḥakīmu*). Ibn Zayla is regularly referred to as *al-Ḥakīm* in the literature.⁴⁶

I.A.b. *Istanbul University A.Y.* 4755

[588/ 1192]

16.7 x 12 (text: 12.5 x 8.5). Modern re-binding. 325 folios, varying lines. Heavy rag paper. Brown ink. Clear pointed *nash*, marginal corrections and notes. The first leaf is heavily wormed and has been coated with a clear film. Dated to the beginning of Ramaḍān 588/September 1192 in colophons to the *Faṣl min ḥaṭṭihī* (266v; see here below), and *Risāla fī asbāb ḥudūt*

⁴⁶ In the original version of Ibn Sīnā's Letter to Ibn Zayla (in MS J; see the MS description below, I.A.f.2, and the edited text of the introduction in Appendix D), which was later shortened and incorporated into the Mubāḥaṭāt (see Bīdārfar 568-578), Ibn Sīnā calls Ibn Zayla *al-ḥakīm mawlāya raʾīsī*, and in the responses attached to Ibn Zayla's *talhīṣ* in MS S2 (see description here above, and Bīdārfar 827), Ibn Zayla is referred to as *al-ḥakīm*; al-Bayhaqī, in his *Tatimma* (ed. Šaḥīr, 92.6; ed. Kurd ʿAlī, 99.6) also accords him the title *al-ḥakīm*. Cf. the discussion in Chapter Three, II.C.

al-ḥurūf (277r). One ownership note can be detected, with Iṣfahān as the locale.

There are numerous indications that some of the works in this MS, which contains twenty-seven minor treatises by Ibn Sīnā,⁴⁷ were copied from Ibn Sīnā's and Bahmanyār's holographs either directly or through one intermediary. Leaf 1r contains an index of the contents which concludes by stating "some [of the works] were copied from [Ibn Sīnā's] hand" (*wa-baʿḍuhū manqūlun min ḥaṭṭihī*). In the colophon to Ibn Sīnā's *al-Mūğaz fī l-manṭiq* (9v) the scribe states "I collated this *Mūğaz* with a copy in the hand of Hibat Allāh ibn Šāʿid ibn Tilmīd which was copied from the author's holograph" (*qābaltu hādā l-mūğaza bi-nuṣṣatin bi-ḥaṭṭi Hibat Allāh ibn Šāʿid ibn Tilmīdi l-manqūlati [sic] min ḥaṭṭi l-muṣannif*).⁴⁸ In the colophon to *Kitāb al-ʿUyūn* (83r), the same scribe writes that he collated his copy with one that he thinks may have been in the hand of Bahmanyār, made at Ibn Sīnā's dictation:

قابلت عيون الحكمة من الطبيعيات والى هاهنا بنسخة فى آخرها
وهذا آخر ما أملأنى إياه الشيخ الرئيس أطال الله مدته وأظنها
بخط بهمنيار والله أعلم وصحت بحسب الطاقة.

The colophons to *Kitāb Aqsām al-ḥikma* (91v) and *ar-Risāla fī taʿrīf ar-raʿy al-muḥaṣṣal* (= *Risālat al-ağrām al-ʿulwīya*) (102v) indicate that these works were collated with (ʿūrīda bi-) Ibn Sīnā's holograph. Significantly, the three segments of Mubāḥaṭāt material in this MS are said to be copied from Ibn Sīnā's hand (*min ḥaṭṭihī*, leaves 266v, 306r, 322v), although the colophon of the first segment suggests that this was through one intermediary. The third segment of Mubāḥaṭāt material in this codex is found among a number of short passages which are said to have been copied (*mā naqaltuhū*) from a copy by Manṣūr ibn Muslim, known as Ibn Abī l-Ḥarağāyn⁴⁹ who copied them from Ibn Sīnā's hand. He says that Ibn Sīnā's handwriting was "a

⁴⁷ See "Avicenna at the ARCE" for a complete contents list. One of the works, *ʿUyūn al-masāʾil*, has been attributed to Fārābī and others. See Mahdavi, pp. 283-4.

⁴⁸ This Ibn at-Tilmīd may be identified with Abū l-Ḥasan Hibat Allāh ibn Šāʿid ibn Hibat Allāh ibn Ibrāhīm, head of the ʿAḍudī hospital in Bağdād (d. 560/1165-6, although al-Bayhaqī, who was his contemporary and appears to have had direct contact with him, lists his death date as 549/1154-5, ed. Šafiʿ, 143.4); see GAL I, 487, S I, 891, and Ziriklī, 8:72b-c, as well as the sources listed by Šafiʿ, 141, n. 1. For his interest in logic, see al-Bayhaqī, op. cit., 141.8f.

⁴⁹ This is perhaps the minor poet and literary scholar Manṣūr ibn al-Muslim ibn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī l-Ḥarağāyn, known as ad-Dumayk, a native of Aleppo who pursued his career in Damascus, 457-510/1060-1117. See Ziriklī 7:304c and the references cited there. Despite the geographical distance, it is not entirely unlikely that Ibn Abī l-Ḥarağāyn would have had access to Ibn Sīnā's holographs and if this identification is indeed correct, we have direct testimony of the far-ranging importance accorded Ibn Sīnā's works within a relatively short time after his death.

strong and excellent script using a fine nib” (*ḥaṭṭ qawīy ḡayyid bi-qalam daqīq*).

All of this suggests that Istanbul University A.Y. 4755 is a collection of very important copies of Ibn Sīnā’s works made by an attentive scribe interested in preserving the evidence of textual transmission. The evidence presented by the three segments of Mubāḥaṭāt materials in this manuscript must thus be accorded significant weight in our understanding of the codicological development of the Mubāḥaṭāt.

I.A.b.1 (1). 264r-266v. *Al-Masā’il allatī waradat ‘alayhi fa-aḡāba ‘anhā manqūlun aṣluhā min ḥaṭṭihī* (Ergin 7, Anawati 38, Maḥdavi 7)

The correct title, i.e. the title found in the manuscript itself, is the one provided here. Ergin and Maḥdavi list this work as *al-Aḡwiba ‘an al-masā’il al-‘ašara (b)*, Anawati simply as *al-Masā’il al-‘ašara*. These alternate titles, with their mention of *ten* questions must come from a later cataloguer of the manuscript, as the title in the manuscript itself lacks this addition. However, the work does indeed contain ten questions and responses. Anawati listed three manuscripts of the work: Tehran [Maḡlis] 625, Yıldız 889 [now known as Istanbul University A.Y. 4755], and Manchester 450 [now in the British Museum]. Maḥdavi correctly re-classified Maḡlis 625 as *al-Aḡwiba ‘an al-masā’il al-‘ašara (a)*. On the basis of the incipit and explicit Anawati provides, we can also identify Manchester 450 as *al-Aḡwiba ‘an al-masā’il al-‘ašara (a)*. The distinction between two works entitled *10 Questions* is important. In some manuscripts, the work classified as (a) by Ergin and Maḥdavi is said to contain questions and responses between Ibn Sīnā and Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī,⁵⁰ and there is some indication that that work is referred to in some Mubāḥaṭāt texts.⁵¹

However, the work as found in A.Y. 4755 actually contains some questions and responses found in the recensions of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt, as well as other questions and responses that did not find their way into those recensions. But it should be noted that none of those recensions displays the same order for the materials as we find in Istanbul University A.Y. 4755. The text of this material as found in the Later Recension edited by Bīdārfar evinces elements of a medieval editing process and so the following identifications (according to Bīdārfar’s paragraph numbers) cannot be exact.

a-c. not in Bīdārfar

d. 892

e. 893

f. 869-870

g. 881

⁵⁰ See, for example, M.T. Dānišpažūh, *Fihrist-i...Sipahsālār*, pt. 3, p. 274.

⁵¹ See the discussion in Chapter Three, Section I.A.d.

- h. resembles some statements in 446
- i. resembles some statements in 438
- j. 743

The exemplar displays some textual corruption, noted by the scribe in the colophon (266v):

هذا آخر ما وجد بخط الشيخ الرئيس رحمه الله تعالى ولعل الناقل
منه وجده مغلقاً فأشكل عليه مواضع لم تبين عنده فصار الكلام
بسببه مشوشاً والحمد لله على نعمه فرغت من نقلها في مستهل
شهر رمضان سنة ثمان وثمانين وخمس مئة.

This is the end of what was found in Ibn Sīnā's hand. Perhaps the copyist found it abstruse, so the parts that were not clear to him were difficult for him [to copy] and consequently the text became muddled....I finished copying it in the beginning of Ramaḍān 558 [September 1192].⁵²

I.A.b.2 (2). 306r-307r. *Faṣl min ḥaṭṭihī*

This *faṣl* of material was not listed by Ergin, Brockelmann, Anawati, or Mahdavi. Two of the segments (a, c) are expository passages, and two (b, d) contain questions and responses. The particular order of segments found here is also not to be found in any other exemplar of Mubāḥaṭāt materials. According to Bīdārfar's paragraph numbers, they are:

- a. 712
- b. 713
- c. 789
- d. 673-4.

I.A.b.3 (3). 322v-323v. Untitled Passages

Untitled passages made from Ibn Abī l-Ḥaraḡayn's copy of Ibn Sīnā's holograph. If the identification of this Maṣṣūr ibn al-Muṣlim ibn 'Alī ibn Abī l-Ḥaraḡayn with the individual also known as ad-Dumayk is correct,⁵³ then the texts he copied may prove to be very important for our reconstruction of the transmission process of parts of the Mubāḥaṭāt. This ad-Dumayk lived between 457-510/1060-1117; and we might reasonably assume that the period of his copying occurred at least no more than eighty years after the death of Ibn Sīnā.

The passages are not without problems. They appear to be divided into six parts, each introduced by Ibn Abī l-Ḥaraḡayn with phrases or statements that reinforce the fact that they were copied from Ibn Sīnā's hand. The first

⁵² Neither Anawati nor Mahdavi correctly transcribed this colophon.

⁵³ See note 49 above.

part contains ten pithy statements by Ibn Sīnā, but the fourth of these statements is introduced as “Manṣūr ibn Sīnā said,” which clearly cannot be understood literally. Perhaps the scribe of A.Y. 4755 neglected to copy some words intervening between Manṣūr’s name and Ibn Sīnā’s name. The second part is introduced “from his hand” (*min ḥaṭṭihī*, i.e., Ibn Sīnā’s hand), and is a short disquisition on logical premisses. The third, which contains the first segment of Mubāḥaṭāt material found in Ibn Abī l-Ḥaraḡayn’s copy, is introduced with this statement: “Manṣūr said: This is a question I found, with the response in his hand, and copied word for word” (*qāla manṣūr wa-hāḍihī mas’alatun waḡadtuhā wa-ḡawābahā bi-ḥaṭṭihī naqaltuhā ḥarfan ḥarfan*). The fourth part is the second segment of Mubāḥaṭāt material and is introduced as “and he [Manṣūr] said: I found another question and it is...” (*qāla wa-waḡadtu su’ālan āḡara*). The response to this question is introduced as “and ar-Ra’īs [Ibn Sīnā], God’s mercy on him, had written in his hand” (*wa-qad kataba r-ra’īsu raḡimahū llāhu bi-ḥaṭṭihī*). The fifth part is introduced as “a section from his hand” (*faṣlun min ḥaṭṭihī*) and includes a Mubāḥaṭāt question and response along with a *mas’ala* on hypothetical syllogisms. The sixth and final part may or may not have originally belonged to Ibn Abī l-Ḥaraḡayn’s copy since it lacks any of the various introductions found in the first five parts. It is a question and response between Abū Ṭālib al-‘Alawī and Ibn Sīnā concerning *materia medica*.⁵⁴

The way in which Ibn Abī l-Ḥaraḡayn has divided the parts of his text strongly suggests that they were not all found together in one fascicle; he introduces each discrete portion individually, and in some cases his use of adverbs and adjectives reinforces the hypothesis that these portions were found distinctly separate from one another (consider especially his statement “and I found *another* question” at the beginning of part four). Equally important is the combination of Mubāḥaṭāt materials and materials completely unrelated to that collection. This reinforces the idea that the original forms of Mubāḥaṭāt materials were scattered among a collection of disparate papers. Of some significance is the combination of different versions of Mubāḥaṭāt materials in these segments as a whole. Segment (c) below has more affinity with the version found in the Ṣignāḡhī Codex Recension (ed. Badawī) than with the version in both the Earlier and Later Recensions. But the Ṣignāḡhī Codex Recension version is an example of the extensive editing that the Mubāḥaṭāt materials were subject to in that recension. The evidence from

⁵⁴ Is this Abū Ṭālib al-‘Alawī somehow related to the “‘Alid” in whose home Ibn Sīnā stayed after his period of incarceration in Fardaḡān? Mahdavī (p. 23) has noted that Ibn Sīnā’s work *al-Adwiya al-qalbīya* was dedicated to as-Sayyid Abū l-Ḥusayn ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥasanī and Gohlman (p. 129, n. 82) has suggested a possible identification of this fellow with the “‘Alid” in whose home Ibn Sīnā stayed. The Abū Ṭālib al-‘Alawī who asked Ibn Sīnā the question in A.Y. 4755 is also given the title “Chief of the ‘Alids” in the introduction to the letter. This may indicate that Abū Ṭālib was the head of the Šī‘ī community in Hamaḡān. The letter in A.Y. 4755 will have to be compared to the *Adwiya al-qalbīya* for a possible relation.

this *faṣl* suggests that the edited parts of the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension were themselves in a loose form that allowed them to be combined with other independently circulating segments.⁵⁵

a. 591-3

b. 882

c. Badawī 276 (cf. Bīdārfar 694part-695)

I.A.c. *Ayasofya* 4853 (W2) [7th/13th c.]

Physical description not available.⁵⁶ Dated by Mahdavi (p. 338, n. 2) to the 7th/13th century.⁵⁷ The manuscript contains a number of Ibn Sīnā's smaller treatises and fragments. These fragments are alternately titled *Risāla fī l-fawā'id* or just *fā'ida* by the later cataloguer who composed the contents list on one of the initial filler pages. As a unit, these segments are divided into nine parts, introduced in the manuscript itself as *fā'ida* or, as in the last one, as *suʿal...ḡawāb* (they fall between folios 90r-93v). Only parts seven and nine appear to have been incorporated into the recensions of the Mubāḥaṭāt.

I.A.c.1 (1) Segment Seven. W2.a. 92r.18-92v.11

This segment, introduced as a *fa'ida*, is in fact a series of eight brief statements.⁵⁸ They are also found in the L2 compilation, the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension, one of the Earlier Recensions (MS A), and the Later Recension in the same order but with one exception: one of the passages in those latter four versions is not present in this series. The corresponding numbers in the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension, edited by Badawī, are: 470-475, 477-8. In the Later Recension, edited by Bīdārfar (using MS B as his base copy), the numbers are: 852-857, 859-860. To complicate matters, two of the passages are also found in the *Taʿlīqāt* (Bīdārfar 853-4 = *Taʿlīqāt*, p. 80); and the passage omitted in the W2 *fā'ida* is also found in the *Taʿlīqāt* (Bīdārfar 858 = *Taʿlīqāt*, p. 83).⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Further discussion of this phenomenon can be found in the description of L2 in Section IV below.

⁵⁶ The manuscript was “restorasyon'da” during my period of research in Istanbul. I thank Jamil Ragep for kindly providing me a copy of his microfilm.

⁵⁷ Mahdavi does not state his reasons for dating AS 4853 to the 7th/13th century (presumably he followed Anawati, as did Marmura in his edition of *Iṭbāt an-nubūwāt*, Engl. intro., p. x). One possible indication for that dating is that the MS also contains Ṭūsī's *Ḥall-i muškilāt-i Muʿīniya*, composed around 633/1236-7. However, this would make that copy of the *Ḥall* one of the earliest known (I thank Jamil Ragep for this observation). See also the somewhat flawed list of contents provided by Dānišpažūh, *Mikrūfilm-hā*, vol. 1, pp. 472-3.

⁵⁸ See Mahdavi 202.

⁵⁹ The passage at Bīdārfar 858 is also found in another collection of passages entitled *Fawā'id aṣ-Ṣayḥ ar-ra'īs* in Nuruosmaniye 4894, 203v-204r, the bulk of which were taken over to create the putative letter from Ibn Sīnā to Abū Saʿīd ibn Abī l-Ḥayr entitled by Ergin (and later Mahdavi 4d) *Sabab iḡābat ad-duʿā wa-kayfiyat az-ziyāra wa-taʿtīruhā*. These passages are found in the

In the four versions listed above, the series is introduced with the statement “found on a slip of paper” (*wuğida fī ruqʿa*). This suggests that the original medium of these segments was slips of paper.⁶⁰ However, the omission of one passage, purportedly found on this *ruqʿa*, from the series in W2.a poses certain problems. We must suppose either that there were two such *ruqʿas* one of which lacked a passage found on the other, or that the scribe of W2 (or one of its apographs⁶¹) omitted this passage when copying his *ruqʿa* into the codex. It would seem that the first explanation is more likely. In other fascicles that contain series of passages which share material with the Earlier and Later Recensions or with another fascicle of passages, we find differing overall orders of material (compare, for instance, the series found in MSS X2, R2, H2 with the series in Bahmanyār’s Questions to Ibn Sīnā; see Section I.A.g).

This suggests that in some cases there were multiple stages of copying and that the smallest unit of text must have been one smaller than a *ruqʿa*, i.e., one which contained only a very short passage not unlike the ones that make up the series in W2.a.⁶² This material seems to have ranged from very brief expository statements written by Ibn Sīnā to a question and response, or a brief series of such questions and responses. The fact that some of these materials found their way into both the Earlier and Later Recensions of the Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt as well as into the *Taʿlīqāt* highlights the somewhat ambiguous conceptualizations of those two works on the part of the recensers. Clearly, there was a rather large pool of material upon which the recensers drew in constructing the two posthumous works that would come to be known as Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt and *at-Taʿlīqāt*.⁶³

Taʿlīqāt (ed. Badawī): 47.20-48.12; 150.3-5; 151.25-152.17. The passage at Bīdārfar 858 is found in this collection in Nuruosmaniye 4894, leaf 204r, lines 4-13.

⁶⁰ The person responsible for the Scribal Note in the Later Recension also uses the plural form *riqāʿ* to describe the original form of some of his material; see the discussion of this Scribal Note above in Part One, I.B.b.

⁶¹ It is in fact likely that AS 4853 is a copy of an earlier manuscript or manuscripts, as the scribe of AS 4853 introduces part six of the *fāʿida* by noting that it was found “in one of the manuscripts” (*wuğida fī baʿḍi n-nusah*).

⁶² However, it is not entirely clear in codicological terms what format could be smaller than a *ruqʿa*; we might make a distinction between different sizes of *riqāʿ* or between *riqāʿ* containing differing amounts of text.

⁶³ This is not to suggest a complete indiscrimination in the work of the recensers; by and large, the materials were distinguished on the basis of genre: segments of expository analysis formed the *Taʿlīqāt*, while questions and responses formed Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt. But it was initially a shared pool of material. This ambiguity is nowhere more clearly observable than in the anonymous collection of segments in Hamidiye 1452, ff. 163v-167r, which is entitled *al-Muḥtārāt min at-Taʿlīqāt*, but which concludes *tamma l-Mubāḥaṭāt* [sic]. [Another copy of this collection may be Mağlis I, 1730 (copied by Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn al-ʿUqaylī al-Astarābādī in 1058/1648-9), ff. 131-2; see Hāʾirī, 5:272, no. 21; 9:2, 463.] This collection also contains a segment found in W2 as a whole (Segment One).

Later Exemplars

I.A.c.1 (2). i. Köprülü 1589 [753/1353]

The contents of this codex, including the many treatises by Ibn Sīnā and Pseudo-Ibn Sīnā found in the margin, have been described by R. Şeşen et al.⁶⁴ There would appear to be at least two primary hands at work in the codex, a *nash* for the treatises in the *matn*, and a *taʿlīq* for those in the margin. Of these marginal treatises, one (ib., pp. 270-1, no. 38) is dated 6 Dū l-Ḥiğga 753/13 January 1353,⁶⁵ and it is this hand and copy date to which Şeşen refers all subsequent descriptions, including that of the present segment (ib., p. 275, no. 55), found on folio 343v and entitled (by Şeşen?) *Risāla fī l-qadr wa-l-irāda*.

I.A.c.1 (2).ii. Hamidiye 1448 [c. 9th/15th c.]

The contents of this codex, which Mahdavi (p. 347) has dated to the 9th/15th century, have been described in my “Avicenna at the ARCE.” The segments in this codex (f. 493) are entitled simply *Risāla*.

I.A.c.1 (2).iii. Ahmet III 1584 [914/1508-9]

Karatay, in his catalogue of the Ahmet III collection,⁶⁶ has provided a complete contents lists and brief physical description of this codex, copied in 914/1508-9 by ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān ibn ʿAlī ibn al-Muʿayyad.⁶⁷ The segments here are entitled *Risāla fī l-qadāʾ wa-l-qadar* (f. 145v).⁶⁸

I.A.c.1 (2). iv. Miškāt 1149 (D2) [Before 962/1554-5]

Dānişpażūh, in his catalogue of the Miškāt collection, provides a contents list, some codicological notes, and a brief physical description of this manuscript.⁶⁹ He also dates the manuscript to some time before 962/1554-5 based on the earliest dated ownership note (ib., p. 2437). There are two copies of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt in this codex, the first of which, a possible descendant of MS B (see below, Section V.A.a), was used by Bīdārfar for his edition. The second copy is a late exemplar of the Interrupted Version of the Earlier

⁶⁴ *Fihris maḥṭūṭāt Maktabat Küprülü*, 2:254-277.

⁶⁵ It is unclear how Anawātī (p. 249) was led to date the codex to 953/1546-7.

⁶⁶ *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Arapça yazmalar kataloğu*, 4:380-1.

⁶⁷ This individual would appear to be Muʿayyad Zādah, who also owned the famous Bodleian Huntington 534 codex; see Section V.A.a. below for further details.

⁶⁸ Mahdavi (p. 329, n. 1) dated the codex to 913/1507-8; Anawātī 191, gave the leaf number 146v for the treatise.

⁶⁹ M. T. Dānişpażūh, *Fihrist-i Kitābhānah-yi Ihdāʾī-yi Āqā-yi Sayyid Muḥammad Miškāt*, 3:4, pp. 2394-2438. The codicological notes and physical description of MS 1149 are found on pp. 2437-8, but the contents list is included with contents lists of two other MSS containing works by Ibn Sīnā in the Miškāt collection (MSS 1147, 1164), pp. 2394-2436. For D2, see p. 2421.

Recensions (see below, Section II.B.a.1.iv.). In addition to the brief segments in D2 (f. 316r), there is another independently transmitted segment of the Mubāḥaṭāt materials in D4 (see below, section I.A.d.1)

I.A.c.2 (2) Segment Nine. W2.b. 93r-93v

This segment is presented as a question and response on a topic that is raised numerous times in the Mubāḥaṭāt (referred to here by its subject matter: the constant element in animals and plants). For purposes of reference, Maḥdavi entitled the fragment *Li-kulli ḥayawān wa-nabāt tabāt* (see Maḥdavi, 4y), but he was not aware of the copies in AS 4853 or Nuruosmaniye 4894 (see below). The segment is found in two versions in the Şignāhī Codex Recension⁷⁰ and in one version in the L2 compilation. In a criticism of Ibn Sīnā's vacillation on the issue, Bahmanyār cites part of this segment in a passage found in the Earlier and Later Recensions.⁷¹ At some later point, the question and answer (which Bahmanyār says was in "another section" [*faṣl*], Bīdārfar 462) were appropriated by the inventor of the Ibn Sīnā—Abū Saʿīd ibn Abī l-Ḥayr correspondence.⁷² The other two exemplars, in which the question and response are simply part of a group of *fawāʿid*, make no reference to Abū Saʿīd. The fact that Bahmanyār quoted the response elsewhere in the Mubāḥaṭāt as well as its inclusion in a list of independently circulating segments both suggest that Abū Saʿīd had nothing to do with the question.

Later Exemplars

I.A.c. (2).i. Nuruosmaniye 4894 (N3) [11th/17th c.]

(3). 243r.4-19, where the series as a whole is entitled *Hādihī fawāʿid wa-nukat*.

I.A.c. (2).ii. Miškāt 339 [1076/1665-6]

(1). 49r, where the question is ascribed to Abū Saʿīd. Dānišpażūh provided a list of contents and codicological information for this codex in his catalogue of the Miškāt collection.⁷³ There are two dates in the codex: 1076/1665-6, and 1086/1675-6.

⁷⁰ See Badawī 94. The other version, MS C, 107r.pen.-107v.11, Badawī omitted (see his note on page 229). Textual variants in the second version are recorded here in Appendix A.

⁷¹ See Bīdārfar 462. Bīdārfar copied the segment in the Şignāhī Codex Recension from Badawī's edition and collated it with the L2 compilation in his Appendix 1012, but left out the corresponding passage in Badawī 94 that Bahmanyār cites at Bīdārfar 462.

⁷² For general details of this putative correspondence, see Chapter Two, IV. A.

⁷³ M. T. Dānišpażūh, *Fihrist-i Kitābhānah-yi Ihdāʾī-yi Āqā-yi Sayyid Muḥammad Miškāt*, lists the exemplar at 3:1, pp. 174-5, but provides codicological details 3:1, p. 23.

I.A.d. *Ibn Zayla's Question to Ibn Sīnā on the soul's desire for the sensible world*

The following two manuscripts contain a question addressed to Ibn Sīnā by Ibn Zayla with Ibn Sīnā's response.⁷⁴ This question is also found in the Ṣiġnāhī Codex Recension (Badawī 353), a number of the Earlier Recensions, and in the Later Recension (Bīdārfar 591-3). In both exemplars of its independently transmitted version, this question and response is the first of four questions and responses grouped under the title *Masā'il su'ila aš-šayḥ 'anhā*.

Maḥdavī (224) was the first to note that the first question and response was found in Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt, and made reference to Badawī's edition. But he assumed that all four segments constituted an "abridged part" of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt. In fact, the other three segments appear to belong to the Ibn Sīnā—Bīrūnī correspondence, albeit in a somewhat different form than we now know that correspondence. The first of these latter three segments is introduced as a question from Bīrūnī to Ibn Sīnā; the other two carry no introduction. It is impossible to determine whether these segments are a later excerption of questions and responses and passages from established works, or whether the origin of these segments is to be located in the independently circulating fascicles. The latter possibility is the more likely for two reasons. This collection shares explicit identification of the questioner as Ibn Zayla with Bahmanyār's Recension of Mubāḥaṭāt materials alone.⁷⁵ The identification in the independently circulating exemplars Pertev Paşa 617 and D4, however, is somewhat more detailed. They state that "Abū Maṣṣūr ibn Zayla asked Ibn Sīnā the question as a result of conversations (*muḥāwarāt*) with him."⁷⁶ In his collection, Bahmanyār simply states "Ibn Zayla is the questioner." And the three parts of the Ibn Sīnā—Bīrūnī correspondence display enough significant variation with the extant copies of that complete correspondence to suggest that those three parts represent a different and perhaps uncompleted version of that correspondence. The contents of this small collection are as follows.

- a. Question and response between Ibn Zayla and Ibn Sīnā; see, e.g., Bīdārfar 591-593.

⁷⁴ The question is not related to a passage in the *Šifā': Kitāb an-Nafs*, as Bīdārfar's note, p. 197, indicates, but rather to Ibn Sīnā's commentary on the *Theology* of Pseudo-Aristotle in the *Inṣāf*. See Chapter Three, II.C.c.2, and Appendix F, Section I.A.a.

⁷⁵ See Br. Mus. 16, 659 (MS E), f. 225.pen.

⁷⁶ This introduction is of some importance. The term *muḥāwarāt* is also used by Bahmanyār in the *Taḥṣīlāt* to describe his discussions with Ibn Sīnā (ed. Muṭahharī, p. 1.7). See also the discussion in Chapter Two, IV.B.c.5.

- b. Ibn Sīnā—Bīrūnī correspondence, Sixth Question.⁷⁷
- c. Ibn Sīnā—Bīrūnī correspondence, Second Question.⁷⁸
- d. Ibn Sīnā—Bīrūnī correspondence, Response to Seventh Question.⁷⁹

I.A.d.1. Miškāt 1149 (D4) [Before 962/1554-5]

(3). 343v. Here entitled *Masā'il su'ila aš-šayḥ 'anhā*.

I.A.d.2. Pertev Paşa 617⁸⁰ [c. 1113/1701-2]

17.5 x 12 (text: 12.5 x 7.5). 270 folios, 14 lines per page. Black leather and board. Binding is in poor repair. Front cover has a central diamond with four hanging pendants, and borders. Paper is a medium yellowed glossy European, with alternating orange sheets. Ink is black with red rubrics. The script is a small poor *ta'liq*. Folios 264-70 are loose. The title page contains Persian poetry and an ownership note by one Aḥmad [ibn?] Awhād ad-Dīn Ḥilmīzādah, dated 1113/1701-2.⁸¹ The codex is certainly not much older.

(1). 23v-25r. *Masā'il su'ila aš-šayḥ 'anhā*.

I.A.e. *Question on Kitāb an-Nafs: an intelligible form cannot exist in a corporeal receptacle*

For the text of this question and response, see Badawī 43, Bīdārfar 707-9. This question and response exists in four other exemplars circulating independently of the Recensions of the Mubāḥaṭāt. In all of these independent exemplars, the question is attributed to Abū Sa'īd ibn Abī l-Ḥayr and the text as a whole appears to have undergone some minor editing by the creator of the Ibn Sīnā—Abū Sa'īd correspondence. The authenticity of this correspondence has been the subject of some debate; the issue is addressed in the next chapter. While the Recensions of the Mubāḥaṭāt appear to preserve a more original version of the text, the fact that this question and response could be appropriated by the creator of the Ibn Sīnā—Abū Sa'īd

⁷⁷ See ed. M. Tancı, “Beyrūnīnin İbn Sīnāya yönelttiği bazı sorular, İbn-i Sīnā'nın cevapları ve bu cevaplara Beyrūnīnin itirazları,” pp. 283f.; and ed. M. Mohaghegh, S. H. Nasr, *al-As'ila wa-l-ajwiba*, pp. 27f.

⁷⁸ Tancı, pp. 271f.; Mohaghegh/Nasr, pp. 12ff.

⁷⁹ Tancı, pp. 284f.; Mohaghegh/Nasr, p. 30.

⁸⁰ In 1960 this codex was housed in the Millet Library according to Franz Rosenthal, “From Arabic Books and Manuscripts VII,” p. 9. It is now found in the Süleymaniye Library. The codex also contains (40v-59v) a curious, untitled work, said to be copied from the hand of one Faḥr al-Ḥaqq wa-d-Dīn, and which contains lemmata of a number of Ibn Sīnā's works, including the Mubāḥaṭāt (the others are *at-Ta'liqāt*, *an-Nağāt*, and *aš-Şifā'*) which were copied as evidence against the arguments made in a work entitled *Anwār al-afkār* (I have been unable to identify this work). The Mubāḥaṭāt passages, following Bīdārfar's paragraph numbers, are: 326, 329-341, 357, 364-366.

⁸¹ Mahdavī, p. 17, says of this manuscript: “it is relatively new and lacking credibility.” See Anawati 99 for a brief description.

correspondence suggests that it also circulated independently before and after that appropriation. Just such a scenario of textual transmission was found to be the case with the passage by Ibn Sīnā on the constant element in animals and plants (see above W2.b), which Bahmanyār refers to *in* the Mubāḥaṭāt as *part of* his correspondence with Ibn Sīnā.

Mahdavī was aware that this question and response is also found in the Recensions of the Mubāḥaṭāt (see Mahdavī 4h), but he believed the independently circulating version which ascribed the question to Abū Saʿīd to be the original version which was subsequently incorporated into the Mubāḥaṭāt.

The four codices that contain the question on *Kitāb an-Nafs* also contain either all or some of the ten texts⁸² that make up the putative Ibn Sīnā—Abū Saʿīd correspondence. Exemplars N4, Hamidiye 1452, and Ṭalʿat 197 display a common order for the first five letters listed by Mahdavī as part of that correspondence against Miškāt 339.

I.A.e.1. Nuruosmaniye 4894 (N4) [11th/17th c.]

(4). 368r. Here entitled *Suʿāl aš-šayḥ Abī Saʿīd ʿan Abī ʿAlī ibn Sīnā fī masʿala min Kitāb an-Nafs*.

I.A.e.2. Hamidiye 1452 [12th/18th c.]

20 x 8 (text: 15 x 4). 175 folios, 31 lines per page. Brown leather and board covered with scarlet fabric. Flap has separated from board. Paper is a thick brown rag. Ink is black with red rubrics. Script is a small fine *nash* with aspects of *taʿlīq*. Some water damage; repairs to first folio. Marginal notes including corrections and variants. There are also some marginal notes in pencil made in this century on folios 159r-163v to Ibn Sīnā's *al-Ağwiba ʿan al-masʿil al-ʿašara (a)*. The *waqf* note and stamp of Sultan Maḥmūd ibn Muṣṭafā II (r. 1143-1168/1730-1754) is found on 1r; the manuscript is otherwise undated. A later hand has entitled the collection *Mağmūʿa min rasā'il awwaluhā Risālat aš-ṣalāt li-Ibn Sīnā min qibal al-ḥikma al-falsafīya* and it contains works by Ibn Sīnā, Abū Hayṭam, al-Bayhaqī, and others. Of particular interest is Muḥammad ibn Masʿūd al-Masʿūdī's *Kitāb al-Mabāḥiṭ wa-š-šukūk (contra* Ibn Sīnā's *al-Išārāt*), ff. 109r-150r, in fourteen parts.⁸³

⁸² An additional text in Miškāt 339 (see Dānišpažūh, Miškāt catalogue, op. cit., 3:1, p. 173) can be identified with Ibn Sīnā's *Risāla fī l-luḡa*; see the note in Chapter Two, Section IV.A.a.

⁸³ Ergin, part 3, no. 4, lists what appears to be the same work under the title *Iʿtirāḍāt al-Masʿūdī ʿalā l-Išārāt* in Pertev Paşa 617 and Mahdavī, p. 36, lists a Persian translation (?) under the title *Šukūk-i Masʿūdī bar Išārāt* in Ayasofya 4851; see also GAL, S I, 817e (note that the references to GAL I, 474 and GAL S I, 858 in the index [S III, 695a] are incorrect, but I have not been able to correct them). An abridged incipit of the work in Hamidiye 1452: *yaqūlu š-šayḥu l-imāmu l-ağallu l-kabīru...Muḥammad ibn Masʿūdī...innahū hādihī šukūkun wa-šubahun ʿaraḍat lī fī baʿḍi l-mawāḍiʿi min Kitābi l-Išārāt*. I also find a response to al-Masʿūdī's work in Ayasofya 4855, ff. 95v-98r, entitled simply *Ğawāb al-Imām ʿan Šukūk al-Masʿūdī ʿalā l-Išārāt*, which is perhaps to be attributed to Faḥr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī.

The Question on *Kitāb an-Nafs*, attributed to Abū Saʿīd in this manuscript, is found on ff. 24v-25r.

I.A.e.3. Miškāt 339 [1076/1665-6]

(2). The Question on *Kitāb an-Nafs* is found on leaf 62r. Untitled, but Ibn Sīnā's response contains a reference to Abū Saʿīd.⁸⁴

I.A.e.4. Cairo Maʿārif ʿĀmma Ṭalʿat 197 [13th/19th c.]

Physical description unavailable. Microfilm number 39751.⁸⁵ The only information available from the card catalogue at Dār al-Kutub is: "60ff., 13 x 17 [cm.]." Undated, but not earlier than the 19th century. Foliation starts at beginning of text, but there are a number of front filler pages containing information such as ownership notes, etc. These include the following.

[-1r]. The first page is very damaged but the following part of an ownership note can be discerned:

من كتب ... عباد الله...شيخ محمد بن محمد الشهير بجوى زاده

This individual⁸⁶ also appears to be the scribe of the manuscript if the note below this one is understood correctly:

مسائل عديدة بخط الفاضل المرحوم شيخ...محمد بن محمد الشهير
بجوى زاده

[-2r]. List of contents.

[-3r] Ownership notes and stamps, one by a Sulaymān ibn Muḥammad; and another stamp belonging to al-Ḥāḡḡ Muṣṭafā Ṣayrafī.

(2). 67r-v. Entitled *Risāla ilā Abī Saʿīd* in the contents list; lacking any title in the text itself.

I.A.f. *Ibn Sīnā's Letter to Ibn Zayla on the classification of the sciences*

The text of this Letter, without its epistolary introduction, is found at Bīdārfar 568-578. Ibn Sīnā's Letter to Ibn Zayla on the classification of the sciences underwent at least two different editing processes. The original letter, containing both Ibn Sīnā's derogatory introductory remarks to Ibn Zayla as well as his response to Ibn Zayla's question, is found intact only in the 13th/19th century exemplar in codex 15ḡ of the Library of the Department

⁸⁴ See Dānišpažūh, Miškāt cat., 3:1, p. 174.

⁸⁵ There is an older microfilm number on the microfilm itself: 6834.

⁸⁶ This Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, known as Čivīzādah, appears to have had a wide-ranging interest in manuscripts. His ownership note can also be found in three copies of a Mamlūk period history by Ibn Qāḍī Šuhba. See my "A Holograph MS of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's *Dhayl*," p. 21 and note 7 (where the vocalization Chuyahzādah should be corrected as above; I thank Dimitri Gutas for this observation). See Taškūbrīzādah, *Šaqāʿiq*, pp. 265-6 for this man's father (?), who died in 954/1547-8.

of Literature, Tehran University. The exemplar in Ayasofya 4855 (G) lacks the conclusion of Ibn Sīnā's introduction (i.e., Bīdārfar 569) and shows some lacunae and disorder in the progression of Ibn Sīnā's response, but it preserves the last phrase of Ibn Zayla's question (as restated by Ibn Sīnā in his response). The version in the Ṣignāhī Codex Recension and in the Earlier and Later Recensions entirely lacks Ibn Sīnā's introduction but retains the original order of Ibn Sīnā's response; however, it omits the last phrase of Ibn Zayla's question, still present in Ayasofya 4855.⁸⁷ A substantive separative variant is found between the Ṣignāhī Codex Recension and the Earlier Recensions on the one hand, and the Later Recension on the other (see below, Section VI). The reading in the first group is the correct one and is comparable to that found in Tehran University 15ğ; the reading in the Later Recension is incorrect. A translation of this introduction of the original letter is found in Chapter Three, II.C.c.2, and an edition of the text, following MSS G and J, is found in Appendix D.

I.A.f.1. Ayasofya 4855 (G)⁸⁸ [500-733/1106-1333]

17 x 13 (text 14.5 x 9.5). Brown leather and board with marbled paper, repaired flap. Binding disintegrating, lightly wormed. 289 folios, varying lines. Nine different hands. Title page has Persian *Mağmū'ah dar hikmah*, along with some Persian poetry, and the *waqf* note and stamp of Sultan Maḥmūd ibn Muṣṭafā II (r. 1143-1168/1730-1754). Heavily annotated in parts. The collection as a whole is undated, but individual dates of copying are found in the colophons of some treatises, viz. Rabī' al-Āḥir 500/October-November 1106 (148v), 713/1313-14 (178r), 731/1330-1 (199r), 23 Šawwāl 733/7 July 1333. This is an extremely important collection of philosophical treatises by authors such as al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā, Abū l-Barakāt al-Bağdādī, Naṣīr ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī (correspondences with al-Qūnawī and al-Astarābādī), and Aṭīr ad-Dīn al-Abharī.

49r-50v: Edited version of the Letter, entitled *Ğawāb 'an su'āl Abī Maṣnūr ibn Zayla*. The exemplar itself is undated, but it is the same hand that copied some of the shorter letters by Ṭūsī on folios 203v-210r. The third of these letters contains the date 666/1267-8 in the introduction, so this copy of the Letter can be dated at the earliest to the end of the 7th/13th century.

⁸⁷ For the Ṣignāhī Codex Recension, see Badawī 484, and for the Later Recension, see Bīdārfar 568-578, which also records a few of the variants of some of the Earlier Recensions in the apparatus. As Badawī indicated, p. 234, n. 1, this question and response is discussed by Faḥr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī in *al-Mabāḥiṭ al-mašriqiya*, 1:386-7.

⁸⁸ I am indebted to Hans Daiber for generously providing me with a photocopy of the relevant folios of this codex.

I.A.f.2. Tehran University 15ğ (J) [13th/19th c.]

Dated to the 13th/19th century by M. T. Dānišpažūh.⁸⁹ This is a collection of minor treatises and letters by Ibn Sīnā, Pseudo-Ibn Sīnā, and al-Lawkarī.⁹⁰ The Letter to Ibn Zayla is found on folios 44v-45r.

I.A.g. *Bahmanyār's Questions to Ibn Sīnā*

Segments of MIVb, MVa-c, MVIb2, and MVIc. The majority of the responsa in this fascicle form of Mubāḥaṭāt materials are introduced as *as-su'āl/al-ğawāb*, but where the structure of the fragment is expository, they are introduced as *fā'ida* (m, o, s). In one instance (q), the passage is introduced as a *mas'ala bi-ḥaṭṭi š-šayḥ*. Finally, the last passage is fittingly introduced as *tatimma*.

a. 224-8	h. 234-8	o. 352
b. 586-8	i. 725	p. 341
c. 555-6	j. 190-5	q. 335-7
d. 545-6	k. 167-9	r. 278-281
e. 701	l. 242-3	s. 642
f. 790, par. 7	m. 212-15	t. 646
g. 713	n. 697	

A comparison of the contents of the three codices listed here suggests that the manuscripts may be related.

I.A.g.1. Sipahsālār 1216 [1091/1680]

‘Alī Naqī Munzavī listed this exemplar as *Pāsuḥ-i Ibn-i Sīnā bih Bahmanyār* in the catalogue of the Sipahsālār library,⁹¹ but the exemplar itself has the title *Hādiḥi as’ilat Bahmanyār ‘an aš-Šayḥ ar-Ra’īs*. The colophon to Sipahsālār 1216 provides the date 3 Rabī‘ al-Āḥir 1091/23 April 1680.

(1). 180r-184r.

I.A.g.2. Mağlis II 1256 [1091/1680-1]

M. T. Dānišpažūh and B. ‘I. Anvārī provided codicological notes and a list

⁸⁹ See M. T. Dānišpažūh, *Fihrist nushah-hā-yi ḥaṭṭi-yi Kitābhānah-yi Dāniškadah-yi Adabīyāt*, pp. 187-8; in this catalogue the codex as a whole is described under another of [Pseudo-?] Ibn Sīnā's works, the *Risāla an-Nayrūziya* (p. 517), and is there dated to the late 13th/19th century.

⁹⁰ Only folios 44r-45r are available to me. A treatise by al-Lawkarī, entitled *Risāla...fī l-‘ulūm al-falsafiya*, begins at the bottom of 45r. This is not noted by Dānišpažūh in his catalogue (op. cit.), so it is possible that other works in the codex have yet to be properly catalogued. The codex was made a *waqf* in 1238/1822-3 (see Dānišpažūh, op. cit., p. 517), according to the note (*waqfan ṣaḥīḥan šar‘īyan millīyan*) at the top of leaf 44r.

⁹¹ *Fihrist-i Kitābhānah-yi Sipahsālār, Baḥš-i Sivvum*, p. 274; this entry also contains a brief codicological description of the codex. The Sipahsālār library is now referred to as Kitābhānah-yi Madrasah-yi Ali Šahīd Muṭahharī.

of contents for this codex in their catalogue of the Mağlis-i Sanā library.⁹² The manuscript was copied in 1091/1680-1 by Muḥammad ibn Ni‘mat aṭ-Ṭibṣī.

(2). 265r-272v. Entitled *As’ilat Bahmanyār ‘an aš-Šayḥ ar-Ra’īs fī baqā’ an-nafs*.

I.A.g.3. British Museum Or. 8069 [12th/18th c.]

19.2 x 12.5; 59 folios; neat small *nash*; black ink. 24 lines per leaf. 12th/18th century.⁹³ In addition to the following fascicle of Mubāḥaṭāt material, the manuscript contains works by al-Kindī, al-Fārābī, and Yaḥyá ibn ‘Adī. The codex also contains Ibn Sīnā’s Letter to Kiyā (see below, Section I.B.c.3.i.).

(2). 17v-21v. Entitled *Hāḍihī as’ilat Bahmanyār ‘an aš-Šayḥ ar-Ra’īs*.

I.A.g.4. Mağlis I 14,473 [12th/18th c.]

The contents of this codex, copied in a *nasta‘līq* hand and estimated to be from the 12th/18th century, are described by ‘Alī Ṣadrā’ī-yi Hū’ī and ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn Ḥā’irī in their catalogue of the Mağlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī Library.⁹⁴ In addition to Bahmanyār’s Questions, the codex contains exemplars of the Letter to Kiyā and the Later Recension.

I.B. *Original Materials: The Letters*

I.B.a. *Letter MII*

I.B.a.1. Landberg 368 (Q) [c. 880/1475-6]

A physical description of this manuscript is provided in Ahlwardt, no. 5357, where it is tentatively dated to 880/1475-6. Folios 27v-28v (Ahlwardt, no. 5056) contain the text of MII (Bīdārfar 32-46), introduced as *Hāḍihī nushatu risālatin katabahā š-Šayḥu r-Ra’īsu Abū ‘Alī ibn Sīnā ḡawāban ‘an risālatin kutibat ilayhi*. There is no indication in this scribal title that the letter was known to form a part of a work entitled Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt, nor indeed that the recipient of the letter was Bahmanyār. The scribe likely inferred that the letter was a response to a previous letter from the recipient

⁹² M. T. Dānišpažūh and B. ‘I. Anvārī, *Fihrist-i kutub-i ḥaṭṭī-yi Kitābhānah-yi Mağlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī, Šumārah-yi Dū (Sanā-yi sābiq)*, vol. 2, no. 1256, pp. 187-194, especially p. 192. The first volume of this catalogue is entitled *Fihrist-i kitāb-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi Kitābhānah-yi Mağlis-i Sanā*. After 1979 this library was renamed Kitābhānah-yi Mağlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī (Šumārah-yi Dū), and the second volume of the catalogue was titled accordingly. I refer to it here as Mağlis II.

⁹³ I thank Colin F. Baker, Head of the Arabic Section of the British Library’s Oriental and India Office Collections for this brief physical description. A catalogue of the Library’s acquisitions after 1912 has yet to be undertaken.

⁹⁴ *Fihrist-i Kitābhānah-yi Mağlis-i Šūrā-yi Millī*, 38:620-628.

on the basis of Ibn Sīnā's incidental remarks in the letter. All of this suggests that, at least as late as the end of the 7th/13th century (Ṭūsī wrote his commentary on the letter shortly before his death in 672/1273), there were independently circulating copies of parts of what had become *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt* in other transmission processes.

I.B.a.1.i. Landberg 368 Lemmata (Q₂)

This commentary immediately follows the copy of MII in Landberg 368, ff. 28v-32v. Ṭūsī wrote this commentary at the request of an unidentified colleague, as is evident from the introduction, where his interlocutor notes that he made his request “in the months of the year 671,” that is, just a year (or less) before Ṭūsī's death (12 Dū l-Ḥiġġa 672/30 June 1273). This commentary by Ṭūsī does not seem to find a place in any of the bibliographies of his works.⁹⁵ Again, it is to be noted that neither Ṭūsī nor his interlocutor indicate that this letter forms part of a work entitled *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt*.

The lemmata found within Ṭūsī's commentary cover that part of Ibn Sīnā's letter that corresponds to Bīdārfar 36-43.⁹⁶ These passages contain Ibn Sīnā's responses to questions put to him by Bahmanyār in an earlier missive. In these lemmata, the letter is shorn of its introduction (in which Ibn Sīnā details the fates of his works *al-Iṣārāt*, *al-Masā'il al-mašriqiya*, *al-Hikma al-ʿaršiya*, and *Kitāb al-Inṣāf*) and its conclusion (where Ibn Sīnā comments on the quality of the discussions with his disciple).

Interestingly, Q₂ displays some textual variation to Q. This variation suggests that the two texts do not share the same archetype. It is unlikely that Ṭūsī simply did not transcribe the passages of Ibn Sīnā's letter faithfully since the variants are textual and not stylistic. It is more likely that the scribe of Q or its archetype made a compilation of related works from different archetypes and included the text of MII because of its relation to Ṭūsī's commentary. In other words, there is no reason to suppose that Ṭūsī need have written his commentary on the basis of a copy directly descended from the copy reproduced in Q, but every reason to suppose that the two texts could be copied sequentially into a codex by a scribe interested in producing a collection of related works and who was faithful to what his archetypes contained without attempting to harmonize those texts. In fact, in his faithful adherence to his archetypes, the scribe recorded some of the variants between Q and Q₂ as *nusha* marginal notes in the respective copies. Despite these differences between Q and Q₂, a comprehensive collation suggests that Q and Q₂ do fall within the same family of manuscripts. This

⁹⁵ See M. Mudarrisī, *Sargudašt va ʿaqā'id-i falsafī-yi Ḥwāḡah Naṣīr ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī*. Ṭūsī's letter on MII does not figure in the Ṭūsī-Qūnawī correspondence; see G. Schubert's edition in *Annäherungen*.

⁹⁶ Ṭūsī's commentary omits one sentence of this central part (Bīdārfar, p. 52.5-7: *fa-laʿalla quwata s-sābiq...bi-l-mādda*).

family shows marked variation from both the Earlier and Later Recensions (e.g., MSS L and B), but some relation to the Şignāhī Codex Recension and MS R1.⁹⁷

I.B.a.2. Ragıp Paşa 1461 (R1) [1139/1726-7]

17.5 x 12.3 (text 13.5 x 8.5). Black leather and board; front cover has gold border, with flap. 397 folios, 22 lines per page, marginal corrections and *nusha* notes. Paper is a medium rag. Brown ink. Script is a hurried *taʿlīq*. No colophon. There are three ownership notes: 1. leaf 1r dated 1170/1756-7; 2. leaf 5v in Persian dated 1139/1726-7; and 3. same leaf, without date, as follows:

أحوج العباد بربه الباهر ابن ظهير الدين ميرزا محمد ابن سمير
ميرزا محمد طاهر وزير كل ولايت آذربايجان

(1). 99v-100v. MII, here entitled *Nushat Risāla katabahā Ibn Sīnā*.

I.B.a.3. Āḥūnd 1187 (H1) [10th-11th/17th-18th c.]

(1). 105-6. MII, entitled by the cataloguer “Pāsukh-i Ibn Sīnā,” but likely lacking a title in the manuscript.

I.B.b. *Letter MIII*

I.B.b.1. Berlin Petermann II 466 (X1) [889/1484]

Physical description by Ahlwardt, no. 2483. The manuscript was copied and collated in 889/1484 by one Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad as-Sāwī.

(1). 35v-38r. Entitled *Risālat aš-Šayḥ Abī ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn ʿAlī (sic!) ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Sīnā ilā š-Šayḥ Abī l-Ḥusayn Bahmanyār ibn al-Marzubān al-Kātib*.⁹⁸ It is important to note that the segment in X1 covers only part of MIII as it is found in the Recensions. It contains Bīdārfar 47-74 and lacks Bīdārfar 75-126. This is a significant omission, but there is some indication that the scribe was either working with a deficient copy or was extremely inattentive. The number of omissions attributable to homoioteleutons or homoiographons is excessive. This does not, however, explain the omission of more than two-thirds of the letter. But the letter in X1 actually concludes

⁹⁷ Two later exemplars of aṭ-Ṭūsī’s commentary exist in Iran. One is held in the private collection of Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAlī Rawḍātī in Işfahān; the other apparently follows the text of MII in H1 (although M. Rawšan, op. cit., no. 17, does not note this fact; cf. Nūrānī, cited here below, p. *bīst u panğ*). These copies of the commentary have been collated without critical comment by ʿAbd Allāh Nūrānī at the end of his publication of aṭ-Ṭūsī’s *Talḥīṣ al-Muḥaṣṣal*, pp. 491-6.

⁹⁸ The title given Bahmanyār here, scil. “the chancellery secretary” (*al-kātib*), may be some indication of the young man’s profession at the time of the correspondence; see the discussion in Chapter Three, Section II.B.a.

after Ibn Sīnā's statement to the effect that he could not bring himself to study any more of the requests because of the patent disdain for logic discernible in them (see Bīdārfar 74). The scribe may not have thought that the remainder of the material belonged to the letter, or perhaps he did not have access to the remaining material. Considering the disorganized state of so much Mubāḥaṭāt material, the latter possibility should not be surprising. The letter may have been found in loose folios, some of which were not available to the scribe of X1. Alternatively, this exemplar might represent an earlier draft of the letter written by Ibn Sīnā; only later could he bring himself to respond to the remaining questions, at which point he wrote the remaining passages (75-126).⁹⁹

I.B.c. *Ibn Sīnā's "Letter to Kiyā"*

See Anawati 19, 78, 259; Mahdavi 12, and the partial translation and discussion in Gutas, *Avicenna*, 60ff. and the additional references there.

This letter cannot be considered a part of the Mubāḥaṭāt. Whatever the final decision may be regarding the precise nature of the contents of a work entitled Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt, neither the manuscript evidence nor the internal facts of the letter nor the bibliographical tradition relating to Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt suggests that Ibn Sīnā's letter to al-Kiyā al-Ġalīl Abū Ġāfar Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn (or: al-Ḥasan) ibn al-Marzubān found any place in the master's sequence of discussions with Bahmanyār, Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī, and Ibn Zayla. The historical concatenation of the identities of Abū l-Ḥasan Bahmanyār ibn al-Marzubān and al-Kiyā Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Marzubān is addressed in Chapter Three. The manuscript evidence suggests that the Letter to Kiyā in some cases was never considered a part of Kitāb Mubāḥaṭāt. The scribe of codex Leiden Warn. Or. 864 (one of the Earlier Recensions) explicitly sets the Letter to Kiyā apart from Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt (see the discussion in Section IV concerning L2 below),¹⁰⁰ and it is nowhere associated with the exemplars of the other Earlier Recensions. It finds no place in any of the exemplars of the Later Recension (Section V). It is also significant that, in later codices containing both Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt recensions and the Letter to Kiyā, these two elements are separated by other unrelated works.¹⁰¹ In fact, the only place in which the Letter to

⁹⁹ In fact, it is apparent from some of Ibn Sīnā's statements in the letter itself that he did not write it in one sitting nor perhaps in one fascicle. For instance, he introduces the passages between Bīdārfar 85 and 116 as "one section which will contain perhaps six or seven *tanbīhāt*," and he must have added the material between 117 and 126, since he says in introducing it: "as for [the following] question, it arrived after I had written this letter." See the discussion in Chapter Four, Section II.C.

¹⁰⁰ Mahdavi, p. 21, incorrectly grouped together MSS C and L by arguing that in both the Letter to Kiyā forms part of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt. This is not the case in MS L according to the scribe of that codex.

¹⁰¹ For instance, the Mubāḥaṭāt and the Letter to Kiyā are separated by ten other treatises in

Kiyā is treated as part of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt is in the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension. As we will see, a number of other letters having no bearing upon the Discussions are also interwoven with Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt materials in that recension (see Section III). Nonetheless, a study of the exemplars containing this Letter was undertaken and the conclusions are presented here. The letter is known under a variety of titles in the manuscripts; in some cases it lacks any title whatsoever. Aside from the identification *Risālat aš-Šayḥ Abī ʿAlī...ilā l-Kiyā...*, we also find the three variant titles *Risāla fī amr al-ʿaql wa-n-nafs*, *Risāla fī amr an-nafs wa-l-ʿaql*, and *Iḥtilāf an-nās fī amr an-nafs wa-amr al-ʿaql*, all of which were taken from a statement made by Ibn Sīnā in the letter. The Letter exists in no fewer than three versions.

I.B.c.1. Complete Version including the introductory epistolary elements

I.B.c.1.i. C (the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension) [6th/12th c.]

I.B.c.1.ii. Leiden Warn. 864 (between L1 and L2) [Before 717/1317]

I.B.c.1.iii. Maḡlis I 634 (Ğ2) [1043/1633-4]

This manuscript is briefly described and its contents listed in the catalogue by Yūsuf Iʿtiṣāmī.¹⁰² In addition to the Letter to Kiyā, the codex also contains the Later Recension of the Mubāḥaṭāt (see below V.A.a.1.ii.).

(2). Ff. 324r-324v.

I.B.c.1.iv. Tehr. U. 2441 (H2) [1053/1642]

A physical description and contents list of this manuscript are found in Dānišpažūh's catalogue of Tehran University's Central Library.¹⁰³ The manuscript is a collection of Ibn Sīnā's minor treatises, but also contains an exemplar of an Earlier Recension of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt (pp. 1-72). It was copied by one ʿAbd ar-Rašīd on 29 Rabīʿ al-Āḥir 1053/27 July 1642.

(2). pp. 119-122.

I.B.c.1.v. Marʿašī 286 (Š1) [1072/1661-2]

Physical description and contents list of this MS can be found in Sayyid

Maḡlis I 634 and in Tehran University Central Library 2441.

¹⁰² *Fihrist-i Kitābhānah-yi Maḡlis-i Šūrā-yi Millī*, vol. 2, pp. 395-401. Note that this library was renamed after the revolution Kitābhānah-yi Maḡlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī, with the addition of Šumārah-yi Yak to distinguish it from the new name of the old Kitābhānah-yi Maḡlis-i Sanā, now called Kitābhānah-yi Maḡlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī, Šumārah-yi Dū. Hence, I refer to it here as Maḡlis I. The correct shelf number of this manuscript appears to be "634," as given by Mahdavi (p. 211) and not "94," as Badawī referred to it in the introduction to his edition of *Kitāb Šiwān al-Ḥikma*, pp. 31-34. Badawī's contents list there is, however, useful.

¹⁰³ *Fihrist-i Kitābhānah-yi Markazī*, vol. 9, pp. 1115-1117.

Aḥmad Ḥusaynī's catalogue of the Āyat Allāh al-ʿuẓmā Nağafī Marʿašī Library.¹⁰⁴ The manuscript is a collection of philosophical works by numerous authors including Ibn Sīnā and al-Fārābī, along with translations of Aristotle. Ḥusaynī dates the manuscript to 1072/1661-2 based on the colophons of a number of the treatises.

(1). 119r-119v.

I.B.c.1.vi. Mağlis II 1255 [1091/1680-1]

(1). 6r-8. Entitled *Risāla li-š-Šayḥ ar-Raʿīs ilā l-Kiyā Abī Ğaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Marzubān*.¹⁰⁵

I.B.c.1.vii. Mağlis I 14,473 [12th/18th c.]

(1). 66v-67r. Entitled *Risālat Ibn Sīnā ilā l-Kiyā Abī Ğaʿfar Muḥammad ibn al-Marzubān*.

I.B.c.2. Version lacking the introductory epistolary elements.

This version displays substantive variants including explanatory additions, and contains slightly different concluding remarks. The introductory material that is missing in this version covers Badawī 119.3-120:6 and Bīdārfar 371.1-372:11. This version begins: *wa-l-ḥamdu li-llāhi kāfiyān wāfiyān*.

I.B.c.2.i. Ayasofya 4853 (W1)

(1). 52r-53v. The text of the letter in the manuscript itself begins without introduction or identification. There are two contents lists in this manuscript. The older of the two does not list the work; the much later of the two identifies it as *Risāla fī amr al-ʿaql wa-n-nafs*.

I.B.c.2.ii. Ayasofya 4849 [8th/14th c.]

(2). 132r-133v.¹⁰⁶ Here entitled *Risāla fī l-ʿaql wa-n-nafs*. The scribe of

¹⁰⁴ *Fihrist-i nuskhah-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi Kitābhānah-yi ʿUmūmī Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat-i Allāh al-ʿuẓmā Nağafī Marʿašī*, vol. 1, pp. 312-333. Unfortunately, Ḥusaynī chose to list only briefly the Letter to Kiyā and Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt (which is an Earlier Recension related to MS Y; see below II.A.a.1.ii) among a number of other works which he terms *fawāʿid mutafarriqa*. At least one other item in that list may be related to the Mubāḥaṭāt, i.e., what Ḥusaynī calls *Pursaš-hā-yi Bahmanyār az Ibn Sīnā va pāsuḥ-hā-yi vī*, ff. 399r-401r (this may be the collection represented in MSS Sipahsālār 1216, Br. Mus. Or. 8069, and Mağlis II 1256; see Section I.A.e above). Bīdārfar (intro., p. 23) suggests that the Marʿašī *mağmūʿa* was copied from Yahuda 308 (MS Y), but while they do share some works in common, this would require that the latter manuscript contain the following numbers of the Marʿašī manuscript: 1, 2, 5, 6, 10-23, 25, 34, 37-49, and miscellaneous unidentified *fawāʿid mutafarriqa*, indeed the majority of the manuscript. It might be possible to argue that the two manuscripts share at least one common archetype for shared materials, but more than that would be unjustifiable.

¹⁰⁵ See M. T. Dānišpaẓūh and B. ʿI. Anvārī, *Fihrist-i kutub-i ḥaṭṭī-yi Kitābhānah-yi Mağlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī, Šumārāh-yi Dū (Sanā-yi sābiq)*, 2:187.

¹⁰⁶ We must correct Mahdavi's foliation "133a-134b," p. 21.

Ayasofya 4849 notes that he has collated his copy; the *nusha* marginalia he records suggest that he employed two apographs without subjecting his text to contamination.

I.B.c.2.iii. Gotha arab. 838, f. 157r. Entitled *al-Iḥtilāf an-nās fī amr an-nafs*. The codex as a whole is dated to 928/1521-2.¹⁰⁷

I.B.c.2.iv. Nuruosmaniye 4894 (N6)

(6). 559r-560r. Here entitled *Risāla fī n-nafs wa-l-ʿaql*.

I.B.c.2.v. Cairo Maʿārif ʿĀmma Ṭalʿat 197 [13th/19th c.]

(1). 34r-35v. Entitled in the colophon and the contents lists as *Risāla...ilā š-šayḥ al-ḡalīl Abī Ġaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Marzubānī*.

I.B.c.3. Version copied in a Persian-speaking environment

This exemplar contains marginal Persian explanations of some of the more obscure Arabic words used by Ibn Sīnā. The scribe appears to have made a conscious decision to omit what he may have considered Ibn Sīnā's epistolary obfuscations.

I.B.c.3.i. British Museum Or. 8069

[12th/18th c.]

(1). 12r-13r: Entitled *Risāla li-š-Šayḥ ar-Raʿīs...ilā l-Kiyā Abī Ġaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Marzubān*.

II. EARLIER RECENSIONS

This group contains four recensions in four exemplars and five exemplars of an "Interrupted Version" of one of those four recensions. The four recensions have been gathered together into one group on the basis of a similarity in structure. They all share the same order for the first eight parts of the work, after which they diverge in both material and organization. As has been shown in Part One, scribal statements in one of these exemplars (MS E) strongly suggest that it is a descendant of Bahmanyār's Recension of Mubāḥaṭāt materials. The other exemplars, while dated earlier, are assumed to represent Earlier Recensions that were made after that initial Recension and on the basis of it. Here, brief descriptions of the manuscripts of the four recensions are given first, in chronological order; descendants of these four primary exemplars are treated under the respective primary exemplar. The

¹⁰⁷ See W. Pertsch, *Die arabischen Handschriften*, no. 1158. The codex was separated at some point and its three parts catalogued differently; three folios were lost in the division. See also H. J. Rockar, "Avicennahandschriften," pp. 91-2.

manuscripts are further divided into “Intact Versions” and “Interrupted Versions” to account for historical exigencies of the manuscripts’ transmission.

II.A. *Intact Version*

II.A.a. *Princeton Yahuda 308 (Y) [677/1279]*

This manuscript has been described briefly by R. Mach in his catalogue of the Yahuda collection.¹⁰⁸ An examination of a microfilm of the manuscript yielded the following additional information. The manuscript consists of 310 folios and comprises a collection of works by Ibn Sīnā and al-Fārābī, and a number of Greek texts in Arabic translation.¹⁰⁹ It has suffered what appears to be worming and water damage. The copy was made during Šawwāl 677/February-March 1279.¹¹⁰ The manuscript was last in the possession of the Kāšif al-Ġitāʾ, a family of Imāmī scholars and legal experts from Nağaf.¹¹¹ The ownership stamp of ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad Riḍā ibn Mūsā ibn Ġaʿfar Kāšif al-Ġitāʾ,¹¹² dated 1334/1906, is found at the end of each treatise. The script is a very fine *nash*. The scribe took great care over his work, often using more than one copy for collation of a work (e.g., the Ibn Sīnā—Bīrūnī correspondence, *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt*), and regularly expresses his opinion of his archetypes (e.g., on leaf 12r he states that his archetype for the Ibn Sīnā—Bīrūnī correspondence was very faulty, *saqīm saqīm*). He has also regularly collated and corrected his copies (e.g., note on 279r). *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt* is found on folios 17v-68r. In the colophon to this work, the scribe states that he used two copies, both of which were defective (*saqīm*). One peculiarity is the title he uses for *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt* in his colophon: *tamma Kitābu l-Mubāḥaṭāti l-maʿrūf bi-Bahmanyār li-r-Raʾīs Abī ‘Alī ibn Sīnā*. The title index of the collection on 1r, also written by the scribe, has *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt li-Abī ‘Alī al-maʿrūf bi-Bahmanyār*. Clearly some sort of corruption has occurred, perhaps traceable to the archetypes. The hyper-correction of the title on the title index on leaf 1r is in the hand of the scribe.

¹⁰⁸ R. Mach, *Catalogue of Arabic manuscripts (Yahuda Section)*, p. 256 (no. 3011); and J. Kritzeck, “Avicenniana.” See also S.M. Stern, “The Pseudo-Aristotelian Treatise *De Mundo*,” p. 192ff., for an-Nafīsī’s translation of *De Mundo*, also found in this MS.

¹⁰⁹ See the Mach catalogue numbers: 1, 431, 435, 437, 2486, 2950, 2984, 2989, 2991, 2994, 2996, 3002, 3009, 3011, 3013, 3014, 3016, 3018, 3020, 3156, 3867.

¹¹⁰ See colophons on 12v and 175v.

¹¹¹ For the family’s collection of manuscripts, housed in its own library in Nağaf, see *World Survey of Islamic Manuscripts*, II:43-4.

¹¹² Ziriklī, 5:19b-c, reports that he was a collector of rare manuscripts. His dates are 1267-1350/1850-1931. His sons Aḥmad (d. 1926; Ziriklī 1:183b) and Muḥammad Ḥusayn (d. 1953; Ziriklī 6:106c-107a) were even more renowned scholars than their father. The signature of another relation, Mūsā ibn Muḥammad Riḍā (for his father Muḥammad, see Ziriklī 6:127a-b) is appended to a seller’s note on 1r above the contents list.

II.A.a.1. Descendants

II.A.a.1.i. Tehran University 2441 (H1) [1053/1642]

A physical description and contents list of this manuscript is found in M. T. Dānišpažūh's catalogue of Tehran University's Central Library.¹¹³ The codex is a collection of Ibn Sīnā's treatises. It was copied by one 'Abd ar-Rašīd on 29 Rabī' al-Āḥir 1053/27 July 1642. Bīdārfar (intro., p. 23) has correctly related it to MS Y based on the colophon in which Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt is given the unlikely title *al-Mubāḥaṭāt al-ma'rūf bi-Bahmanyār li-š-Šayḥ ar-Ra'īs Abī 'Alī ibn Sīnā*. Further confirmation of this relation is the fact that both MSS share the scribal note "Question in 'Abd al-Malik's hand" (*mas'ala bi-ḥaṭṭi 'Abd al-Malik*), at Bīdārfar 224, against the other manuscripts of the Earlier Recensions. Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt falls between folios 1-82v. This codex also contains a copy of the Letter to Kiyā (ff. 119-121), which Bīdārfar did not use in his edited collation. Significantly, the Letter to Kiyā in this manuscript is distinctly separated from Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt by the intervention of no fewer than eight unrelated treatises.

II.A.a.1.ii. Mar'ašī 286 (Š2) [1072/1661-2]

(2). 174v-208r. Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt. The Mar'ašī copy also shares the variant "Question in 'Abd al-Malik's hand" with MS Y and H1. Bīdārfar (intro., p. 23) argues that Š2 is a direct descendant of Y, but provides no compelling evidence beyond the presence of the incorrect title in the colophons in both exemplars. Other possibilities, such as descent from H1, remain to be investigated.

II.A.b. Ambrosiana 150s (A) [Before 694/1295-6]

This manuscript has been briefly described by O. Lofgren and R. Traini in their catalogue of the Ambrosiana Library.¹¹⁴ There it has been dated to 694/1295-6 based upon an otherwise illegible ownership note on the title page (2r). The title page carries four other ownership notes, one of which is almost completely effaced. Another conveys its date in an as yet indecipherable chronogram.¹¹⁵ The final two name the owners as Ibn Abī Naṣīr al-Mutaṭabbib and Abū Wafā' Ḥālid ibn Šā'id, without dates. Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt is found on folios 2v-117r and is entitled (on the title page and incipit of the work) *Mubāḥaṭāt...Ibn Sīnā ma'a a'ẓami talāmīdihī Bahmanyār ibn Marzubān*. The script is a scholar's *nash*, regularly dotted and vocalized.

¹¹³ *Fihrist-i nuṣṣah-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi Kitābhānah-yi Markazī*, vol. 9, pp. 1115-1117.

¹¹⁴ *Catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, pp. 123-4 (CCXXVII).

¹¹⁵ This chronogram does not employ letters in the place of numbers, as one normally finds, but is rather encrypted by symbols. These symbols may be found in the most common codes employed in medieval Islam, or they may be unique to the particular setting that produced such an unusual ownership note.

II.A.c. *Leiden Warner Or. 864 (L1)* [Before 717/1317]

P. de Jong and M. J. de Goeje first signalled the existence of this manuscript in 1865, and provided a brief analysis of its parts but no physical description.¹¹⁶ It consists of 131 folios, the last 11 of which became disordered sometime before the folios were numbered (unnoted by de Jong and de Goeje). The correct order of these remaining folios is: 119, 125, 121-124, 120, 126-129. The script is a large *nash*, dotted and occasionally vocalized (*contra* de Jong and De Goeje).

There are five ownership notes on the title page. The earliest of these is by one ʿAbd Allāh, who states that he purchased the manuscript for 72 *dirhams* at the beginning of Šaʿbān 717/October 1317. The other ownership notes are by ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Quwaydī; ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Ḥusaynī, who tells us that he purchased it for 31 silver *dirhams* in Ġumādā al-Awwal (*sic*) 958/May-April 1551; Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭāluwī,¹¹⁷ dated 1003/1594-5; and Muḥammad at-Taqwī al-Ḥusaynī (with stamp, dated 13th/19th century?).

The earliest date for this codex is that found in the first ownership note, scil. Šaʿbān 717/October 1317, but the script appears to be much older than that date. In fact, the hand bears a marked resemblance to the hand of the scribe of Leiden Gol. 184, which is dated 514/1120 (see above, Section I.A.a). While the hands are not identical (the scribe of Gol. 184 employs a right slanting *tarwīs* not found in Warn. 864), they share many graphic characteristics; the use of certain sigla to denote text divisions is also common to both. A future comparative palaeographical and codicological study of the two manuscripts may allow us to posit a significantly earlier date for Warn. 864.

In addition to the two versions of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt materials, Leiden Warn. Or. 864 contains the short tract entitled in this manuscript *al-Birr wa-l-iṭm* (= *al-Fayḍ al-ilāhī*, *al-Aḫḫāl wa-l-infiʿālāt*, *al-Fiʿl wa-l-infiʿāl*; see Mahdavi 97) on folios 123v, 124, 120, 126-9.¹¹⁸ At the beginning and end of the manuscript there are three brief tracts *in fugam vacui* in a hand other than that of the main scribe. On the beginning filler pages there is a tract entitled by its scribe *fī taʿlīqā ʿalā ilāhīyāti š-Šifāʾi li-baʿḍi l-afāḍil* but which is actually a comparison of the opinions of Ibn Sīnā and al-Fārābī on the soul, and another paragraph by the same scribe on the two faculties, theoretical and practical, of the rational soul. This hand is also responsible

¹¹⁶ *Catalogus Codicum Orientalium Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno-Batavae*, 3:340-1.

¹¹⁷ This name is rare enough to suggest a possible identification of this at-Ṭāluwī with the Damascene poet Darwīš Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad aṭ-Ṭāluwī (950-1014/1543-1606), whose autograph elsewhere (see Zirikli 2:338b) bears some resemblance to the one found in Warn. Or. 864. See also, R. Sellheim, *Arabische Handschriften*, Teil I, p. 359.

¹¹⁸ De Jong and De Goeje make reference (op. cit., 341) to a copy of Ibn Sīnā's *Al-Mabdaʾ wa-l-maʿād* in this manuscript (concluding at 129r?); in the microfilm copy used for this study, the work accounts for less than a page and is not preserved well enough to allow comment.

for the passage on *šurāʿ* on the final filler page. This last page also contains a few lines of Arabic poetry in yet another hand. For additional codicological details relating to the other compilation of Mubāḥaṭāt materials in this codex (i.e., L2), see Section IV below. The Earlier Recension in this codex is found on folios 1v-76r.

II.A.d. *British Museum Add. 16,659 (E) [1182/1768]*

Physical description and contents of the manuscript can be found in the 1871 catalogue of the British Museum.¹¹⁹ W. Cureton and C. Rieu there dated the MS to 1182/1768 (the date of the colophon for Ibn Sīnā's *ar-Risāla al-Aḍḥawīya*, 34v), but there is another earlier colophon on 552r (colophon of Pseudo-Ibn Sīnā's *ar-Risāla al-manāmīya* = *Taʿbīr ar-ruʿyā*; see Mahdavi 47). This colophon has been crossed out but contains the following information. Ibn Muḥammad Amīn Muḥammad Naṣīr (or Naṣr) al-Lāhiḡānī aš-Šahrastānī al-Kīlānī copied the treatise on Thursday 18 Šafar 1091/20 March 1680 for Muḥammad Taqī ibn Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Kīlānī originally of Dār al-Ḥilāfa, Akbarābād, "one of the regions of Hindūstān." The fact that this colophon was crossed out might suggest that it was the colophon of the archetype used by the scribe of E.¹²⁰

The curious colophon to Ibn Sīnā's *an-Naḡāt* in the codex also deserves comment. On leaf 96v, the scribe states that many of the "things" (*ašyāʾ*) Ibn Sīnā says in the *Naḡāt* contradict "our Catholic faith," but that it is permissible to copy it for the benefit to be had from other "things" in it and especially for those who want to learn the Arabic language. It would appear from this colophon that the codex was copied in a Catholic environment, likely in British India since a purchase note on leaf 4r gives the locale as Lucknow. But as we see in the colophon of the *Risāla al-manāmīya*, at least parts of this codex were made from a copy produced in an earlier and clearly Iranian context.

The collection of Mubāḥaṭāt materials found in Add. 16,659 (ff. 201r-228v) is twice referred to as Bahmanyār's *at-Taḥṣīlāt* (in the title index, and as a catchword in the upper right corner of folio 200v). A possible interpretation of this title is given in Chapter Two, Section II.B.

The text of the Mubāḥaṭāt in this manuscript is deficient in places. It appears that the folios of the apograph suffered some type of damage, leaving the text illegible in places; the scribe of E has left blank spaces at the points of damage to indicate this. The extent of the omitted text ranges from a single word to one line of text. However, in one place (corresponding to Bīdārfar 215-228), an entire folio of the apograph appears to have been

¹¹⁹ W. Cureton and C. Rieu. *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum*, pp. 447-451.

¹²⁰ For additional information on what this colophon may tell us about the identity of Bahmanyār ibn al-Marzubān, see Chapter Three, Section II.B.a.

lost prior to the time MS E was copied. The damage in the apograph affected the following numbers (following Bīdārfar's paragraph numbers):

MIVb: 146, 149, 152, 154, 161, 164, 165, 168, 170, 171, 179, 180, 186-7, 193, 197;

MVa: 215-228, 229, 237, 238, 244, 245, 252, 255, 260;

MI: 3, 9, 10, 13, 14, 18, 20, 23, 28, 29;

MVb: 271, 274, 280, 286, 294, 304;

MII: 34, 38, 40, 45, 46;

MVc: 317-320, 322-323, 328-330, 348, 363, 365;

MIII: 52, 64, 65, 69, 70, 71, 75, 77, 81, 86, 87, 88, 93, 102, 111, 114;

MVIa2: 404, 410, 427, 466, 491, 497.

Another type of omission must be attributed to the nature of the recension. In places, MS E lacks text that the other Earlier Recensions contain. Furthermore, the organization of material in MVIb2 and MVic is radically different from those other Earlier Recensions. An explanation of these differences is offered in the next chapter.

The evidence provided by the critical apparatus of MS E (discussed above in Part One of this Chapter) indicates that this exemplar is a descendant of Bahmanyār's recension. As such it must play a central role in the reconstruction of the recension process. The larger structure of Bahmanyār's recension is shared by the three other intact Earlier Recensions, but these latter recensions differ substantially from one another and each of them from Bahmanyār's recension, in both the amount and the organization of the material for the final parts of the *Mubāḥaṭāt*.¹²¹

II.B. *Interrupted Version*

An interrupted version of one of the above recensions is to be found in a number of manuscripts. This interruption occurred as a result of a disorganization of folios in the earliest exemplar of this version, Ayasofya 2389 (MS I). In that manuscript, *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt* begins with MIVb, and MVa up to Bīdārfar 218, and is then interrupted by a number of other works, or parts of other works. *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt* then resumes where it left off in mid-sentence in 218 and continues with Bīdārfar numbers 220-231, ending abruptly again in mid-sentence. The details of this order in MS I are as follows.¹²²

¹²¹ See Table 4: Contents of the Major Recensions, where these differences in structure and content are further elucidated.

¹²² A number of attempts were made at various times to number the folios in this manuscript. At least three different sets of numbers are found on the various folios. It serves no purpose to repeat this concatenation of errors here.

- i. MIVb, MVa: 210-218, terminates at *muḥālif laḥū* (Bīdārfar, p. 102.14);
- ii. Begins *an-Nağāt: aṭ-Ṭabīʿiyyāt, al-Maqāla al-ūlā*, with *wa-lā ḥilāf* (ed. Fakhry, p. 139.1) and continuing through *al-Maqāla aṭ-ṭāniya* until *sāʿir mā* (Fakhry, p. 169.17);
- iii. Begins *Faṣl fī mumkin al-wuḡūd* at *inna qawlanā li-š-šayʿ*, concluding at *at-tarkīb al-maḍkūr*. The text of this section is found in other manuscripts as a letter by Ibn Sīnā addressed at different times to al-Ġūzġānī or Abū Saʿīd ibn Abī l-Ḥayr; here the text is stripped of its epistolary elements (compare, for instance, the two exemplars of this letter in Nuruosmaniye 4894, ff. 364r-365r, and 484r-v);¹²³
- iv. *Risāla li-Bahmanyār...fī baʿḍ aḥwāl al-mufāraqāt*. This treatise is sometimes attributed to Bahmanyār and alternately entitled *Iṭbāt al-mufāraqāt* and *Marātib al-mawḡūdāt*;¹²⁴
- v. *Al-Aḡwiba ʿan al-masāʾil al-ʿašara (a)*;¹²⁵
- vi. Another copy of (iv);
- vii. Begins *aš-Šifāʿ: al-Ilāhīyyāt* (ed. Anawati, Zāʿid), *al-Maqāla al-ūlā, al-Faṣl al-awwal* to *al-Faṣl aṭ-ṭālīṭ* (pp. 3.4-23.16), ending with *ʿalā mā huwa ʿalayhi*;
- viii. Resumes *Mubāḥaṭāt*¹²⁶ where it left off at 218, beginning with *qāsirin iyyāhu* (Bīdārfar, p. 102.14), continuing with 220-231; ends abruptly in mid-line at Bīdārfar 231 with *fa-in ʿaná* (Bīdārfar, p. 106.7).

It is impossible to be sure how much of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt was to be found in MS I after its abrupt termination, but this exemplar does begin in the same way that all of the Earlier Recensions do, with MIVb followed by MVa, and it likely followed this pattern. Whether or not MS I at one point also contained the texts of MI-MIII, MVb-c, and parts of MVI, as these other recensions do, cannot be stated with certainty.

However, the presence of certain rubrics in the exemplars of the Interrupted Version allow for a possible identification of the Interrupted Version with

¹²³ Mahdavi 4ḡ lists it under the Ibn Sīnā—Abū Saʿīd correspondence with the alternate titles *al-Muʿāwada fī amr an-nafs*, *al-Fayḍ al-ilāhī*, and *Mumkin al-wuḡūd*. The original text of the letter contains a reference to *aš-šayḥ al-fāḍil*, a title that elsewhere Ibn Sīnā reserves for Bahmanyār; see the discussion in Chapter Two, Section IV.A.b.

¹²⁴ Anawati 7h lists one exemplar. Leiden Gol. 184, a very early codex, ascribes the treatise to Bahmanyār under the title *Marātib al-mawḡūdāt*. The text was published and translated as early as 1851 by S. Poper, op. cit., pp. 17-28, 24-47, on the basis of the Leiden manuscript.

¹²⁵ Mahdavi 6a.

¹²⁶ In AS 2389, the text begins again on a new folio. The text in the other manuscripts which contain the entire sequence shows no perceptible disjunction between the two parts, i.e., there is nothing to signal the end of one work and the resumption of the other. The scribe of S alone notes that something is amiss; in the margin he astutely notes: “From this word, I mean *qāsir*, to the end of the treatise, [the text] is not related to what came before.”

one of the Earlier Recensions. Two such rubrics, viz. *kalām aš-šayḥ bi-ḥaṭṭihī* (at Bīdārfar 210), and *masʿala bi-ḥaṭṭi ʿAbd al-Malik* (at Bīdārfar 224) are common to all of the exemplars of the Interrupted Version and the Earlier Recension in MS Y (and its descendants H1 and Š2). Bahmanyār’s Recension (MS E) has a more detailed version of the first rubric, scil. *kalām aš-šayḥ bi-ḥaṭṭi š-šayḥ*, but the apograph of this manuscript suffered damage where we would expect to find the second rubric (i.e., the text falling between Bīdārfar 215-228). While we can do no more than suggest a possible relationship between MS E and MS Y on the basis of the shared first rubric (albeit in slightly different forms), we can argue with more certainty for a relationship between MS Y (or more precisely the Earlier Recension it represents) and the Interrupted Version in exemplars I and its descendants T, D3, N2, K1, and S.

That these five other manuscripts derive in differing ways from MS I is clear from the fact that, while these other manuscripts follow the same order as MS I, unlike the latter they show no disjunction in folios. However, the scribes of the five descendants of MS I treated the materials that eventually came between the parts of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt in different ways, and the scribe of only one exemplar (S) copied the remaining part of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt (i.e., 220-231) available to him.

The fact that these later manuscripts are clearly derived from MS I helps to date that earliest exemplar. F. E. Karatay dated Ahmet III 3447 to 864/1462; MSS N2 and K1 have no precise dates but they are clearly later than the date of Ahmet III 3447. A collation of the exemplars of the Later Recensions, MSS N1 and K2, also found in the same codices as N2 and K1, indicate that K2 is a descendant of N1 and this pattern is probably applicable to N2 and K1. At any rate, the dating of MS Ahmet III 3447 allows us to date MS I to sometime before 864/1462. The precise relation of the other two exemplars that are derived from MS I, i.e., D3 and S, is more difficult to establish. They are both relatively late manuscripts and so it would be wise to posit intermediaries between them and MS I. A detailed collation of the two might help determine if they are related to one another or if they both derive independently from MS I.

II.B.a. *Ayasofya 2389 (I)*¹²⁷ [9th/15th c.]

16.2 x 15 (text: 12.5 x 8.5). Leather and board with marbled paper backing; with flap. 192 folios, 14 lines per page. Some worming and loose folios.

¹²⁷ The microfilm copy of AS 2389 at Tehran University, no. 380 (see Dānišpažūh, *Mikrūfilm-hā*, p. 463) is a copy of the microfilm of that codex held at Bilkent University in Ankara since it is listed as Ismāʿil Šāʿib (the collection at Bilkent) microfilm 1952 (see Ergin, 1956, p. 41). However, Dānišpažūh lists the contents of the work in his catalogue of microfilms under AS 2389. This list does not reflect the full contents of the manuscript.

Heavy rag paper. Script is a clear unpointed *nash*. Black ink, with red rubrics. Folios in some disorder.

Leaf 1r bears *waqf* note of Sultan Maḥmūd ibn Muṣṭafá II (r. 1143-1168/1730-1754), but the manuscript must be dated at the latest to the 9th/15th century on the basis of the discussion above. One ownership note has been rubbed out. Another is by one Ḥusayn ibn Ḥasan ibn Ḥāmid, otherwise unknown. See the discussion above for a partial list of contents of this manuscript.¹²⁸

II.B.a.1. Descendants

II.B.a.1.i. Ahmet III 3447 (T) [866/1462]

This manuscript was described and its contents listed by F. E. Karatay in 1966.¹²⁹ Karatay's contents list seems to be based upon an earlier but still modern list written in the manuscript itself by an unknown cataloguer. This list contains many errors.¹³⁰ Karatay dated the *mağmū'a* to 866/1462 on the basis of the colophon, and it is this date that allows us to date AS 2389 to some time prior to that, since T is a descendant of AS 2389. The portion of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt found in T (374v-379r) has been described above. It consists of MIVb, part of MV, and a fragment of the *Nağāt* mistakenly copied from AS 2389 as though it were the continuation of the Mubāḥaṭāt passages. This is then followed by the fragments of the *Šifā'* and then *Iṭbāt al-mufāraqāt*. Karatay, following the earlier contents list of T, titled Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt—*an-Nağāt* fragment *Ġawāb sitta 'ašara [sic!] mas'ala li-Abī r-Rayḥān*, although nowhere in the text of the work itself do we find such a title.

This so-called *Ġawāb sitta 'ašara mas'ala li-Abī r-Rayḥān* was first published as an independent treatise by H. Z. Ülken in the second volume of his 1953 collection of some of Ibn Sīnā's treatises, based on what he thought was a unicum, i.e., Ahmet III 3447, ff. 372v-379r.¹³¹ Following the information provided by the first unknown cataloguer of the Ahmet III collection, Ülken entitled the treatise *Ġawāb sitta 'ašara mas'alatan li-Abī Rayḥān*, although he noted in his introduction that the treatise seemed to contain "17, even 18 questions and responses."¹³² Ülken must have been aware of the problems the fragment of the *Nağāt* posed to the continuity of the text, since he did not include that fragment in his edition and makes no mention of it in his introduction to the work, despite the fact that there is no break in the manuscript that would suggest two different works. In the

¹²⁸ The codex begins with the *Ta'liqāt*. The remaining contents are listed above.

¹²⁹ *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Arapça yazmalar kataloğu*, 3:618-620.

¹³⁰ For a revised contents lists, see my "Avicenna at the ARCE."

¹³¹ *İbn Sina Risāleleri*, 2, Arabic pp. 2-8.

¹³² *Op. cit.*, French introduction, p. 7.

following year, Maḥdavī published his bibliography of Ibn Sīnā's works; the apocryphal title was eliminated and the work identified as part of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt.¹³³ Maḥdavī, however, did not discuss the problem concerning the *Nağāt* fragment.

II.B.a.1.ii. Miškāt 1149 (D3) [Before 962/1554-5]

This second copy of Mubāḥaṭāt materials in this codex, unnoted and unused by Bīdārfar, is the Interrupted Version of the Earlier Recension, and is found between folios 332v-343r.¹³⁴ Note that according to Dānišpažūh, the Interrupted Version in D3 concludes with the copy of *Faṣl fī mumkin al-wuḡūd* (f. 343r; see above II.B), and so does not include the additional Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt material. The colophon states that this is the end of *ar-Risāla al-fuṣūliya*.

II.B.a.1.iii. Nuruosmaniye 4894 (N2) [11th/17th c.]

(2). 189r-190v. The order and titles of this exemplar are as follows.

[1] Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt, [2] *an-Nağāt* fragment to the end of *al-Maqāla al-ūlá*, here entitled *Taʿlīqāt uḡrá li-š-šayḥ ar-raʿīs Abī ʿAlī ibn Sīnā* (apparently because it follows a copy of the *Taʿlīqāt* proper, coupled with the fact that the archetype [MS T] provided no title for the work), [3] the end of the *Nağāt* fragment, bearing the title *Maqāla fī lawāḥiq aṭ-ṭabīʿiyāt*.

II.B.a.1.iv. Köprülü 869 (K1) [11th-12th/17th-18th c.]

R. Şeşen et al. provided a physical description and contents list of this MS in the 1986 catalogue of the Köprülü collection. The manuscript is there dated to the 10th/16th century (based on palaeographic evidence?) although it is likely that the actual date is somewhat later.¹³⁵ In the discussion below of the Later Recensions also found in the codices Nuruosmaniye 4894 and Köprülü 869 (respectively N1 and K2), it is noted that the Later Recension K2 in this codex must be based on the copy of the Later Recension N1. Since it is reasonable to suppose that the Köprülü codex was copied from the Nuruosmaniye codex, we can posit a similar copying of K1 from N2. Thus the Köprülü codex was probably copied sometime in the 11th/17th or 12/18th century and not in the 10th/16th century.

¹³³ Maḥdavī (p. 212) also corrected Anawati, who had listed the work under the apocryphal title (A1), but Anawati did correctly record the treatise number in the manuscript (i.e., 52); Maḥdavī incorrectly records 53.

¹³⁴ The Interrupted Version of the Earlier Recension is treated in two places by Dānišpažūh in the Miškāt catalogue; he mentions the fragment of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt under his treatment of what is here called the Later Recension, 3:4, pp. 2404-5, and then the remainder of the material on pp. 2423-2424.

¹³⁵ R. Şeşen et al., *Fihris maḥṭūṭāt Maktabat Küprülü*, 1:428ff.

(1). 122v-125v. The Interrupted Version in this manuscript shows the same order, content, and titles as that of its apograph N1.

II.B.a.1.v. Cairo Falsafa 349 (S) [13th/19th c.]

At present no detailed physical description of this manuscript is available. An early catalogue card, microfilmed along with the manuscript, notes that it is one volume, measuring 13 x 18 cm., and containing 49 folios. The folios have been given page numbers. There is no known date of copying, and the scribe provides no information about himself in the manuscript. The hand suggests that the manuscript is to be dated to the 13th/19th century, and this is partially confirmed by an ownership note dated 1253/1837-8. F. Sayyid, in his 1950 catalogue of Ibn Sīnā's works held in Dār al-Kutub, listed this manuscript under the title *al-Masā'il al-muḥkama al-muntaḥaba min kalām aš-šayḥ* and noted the existence of a second photocopy numbered 752 falsafa.¹³⁶ Another card in the card catalogue at the Dār provides the title *Aḡwibat aš-šayḥ ar-Ra'īs...ʿan masā'il Abī Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī*, an error likely derived from the early contents list in the Ahmet III collection in Istanbul (via Ülken?). A marginal note at the end of the first part of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt in this manuscript (p. 16) notes that the text is “from al-Mubāḥaṭāt.” The sequence of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt portion in this manuscript differs somewhat from that found in AS 2389:

2-14. MIVb;

14-16. MVa to 218;

16-64. *Naḡāt* fragment;

64-67. *Faṣl fī mumkin al-wuḡūd*;

68-86.13. *Aš-Šifāʾ: al-Ilāhīyāt*, 3.4-23.16;

68.13-89. Resumption of MVa: 218-231, then abruptly terminated;

90-97. *Al-Aḡwiba ʿan al-masā'il al-ʿašara (a)*; this copy is in a different hand from the rest of the codex.

If MS S is in fact ultimately derived from MS I, we must suppose that the scribe of MS S decided to omit three of the works (two of which are identical) that intervene between the parts of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt in MS I (see iv-vi above). Curiously, another scribe was to add one of those works (part v above) after the conclusion of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt in this manuscript. The omission of the two copies of Bahmanyār's *Marātib al-mawḡūdāt* may have been decided on the basis of the fact that the work is not by Ibn Sīnā.

¹³⁶ F. Sayyid, *Ibn Sīnā: muʿallafātuhū*, p. 49.

III. THE ṢIGNĀHĪ CODEX RECENSION: CAIRO ḤIKMA MUṢṬAFĀ FĀḌIL 6 (C) [6TH/12TH CENTURY]

This manuscript has been exhaustively described and its contents listed by D. Gutas in “Avicenna’s Library.” Gutas has dated the manuscript to the first half of the 6th/12th century based on his identification of the scribe ‘Abd ar-Razzāq aṣ-Ṣignāhī (p. 10).¹³⁷ He has also identified a number of other manuscripts that were copied from Ḥikma 6M and noted other possible copies (pp. 10-11, *passim*). The Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt in this codex (ff. 68v-116r) was edited by ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Badawī in his *Aristū ‘inda l-‘arab*¹³⁸ in, as Gutas phrases it, “a highly eccentric way” (p. 8). This eccentricity includes occasional re-ordering of the contents of the work and omission of repeated passages actually found in the exemplar. In addition, Badawī was not always faithful to the manuscript readings and did not consistently note his alterations in any critical apparatus.¹³⁹

However, it is in some ways appropriate (if lamentable!) that this recension of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt was the first of the extant recensions to be subject to modern publication and that that publication would be undertaken in such an eccentric manner. For the Ṣignāhī Codex Recension is our earliest dated extant recension of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt and it was subject to a uniquely autonomous medieval editing process that can itself only be described as eccentric.

We know from al-Bayhaqī’s biography of aṣ-Ṣignāhī that he was a third generation student of Ibn Sīnā, being the disciple of Abū l-‘Abbās al-Lawkarī who himself is somehow affiliated with Bahmanyār. From the same source, we also learn that aṣ-Ṣignāhī had a significant portion of Ibn Sīnā’s library in his possession in Buḥārā, including apparently the majority of materials that make up Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt. But while much of Ibn Sīnā’s library that aṣ-Ṣignāhī inherited may very well have been Ibn Sīnā’s holographs, it is clear that the Mubāḥaṭāt materials which aṣ-Ṣignāhī copied were subject to an editorial revision that included a re-wording of much of the text and re-ordering of the passages. This revision process would appear to have happened prior to aṣ-Ṣignāhī’s acquisition and subsequent copying of the material.

It is difficult to understand how aṣ-Ṣignāhī viewed the materials he

¹³⁷ Al-Bayhaqī’s biographical report in the *Tatimma* (ed. Kurd ‘Alī, pp. 130-1) provides no birth or death date for aṣ-Ṣignāhī, so it is presumably on the basis of the fact that he was a contemporary of al-Bayhaqī (d. 565/1169-70) that Gutas dates the manuscript to this period.

¹³⁸ Pp. 119-249.

¹³⁹ This information is based on an oral communication from Dimitri Gutas. In Appendix A below I list the duplicate passages in Badawī’s edition and collate the duplicate passages omitted by Badawī.

copied under the title *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt*. This collection of texts opens with Ibn Sīnā's Letter to Kiyā which, as we have seen, is nowhere else associated with the *Mubāḥaṭāt*. Other texts that bear no relation to the *Mubāḥaṭāt* are also found inserted into the *Mubāḥaṭāt*: Ibn Sīnā's *al-ʿAhd* (ff. 111v.11-112v), and his Letter to Abū Ṭāhir ibn Ḥassūl (ff. 112v.4-11). There are passages in duplicate and, in some cases, triplicate copies, displaying substantive textual variance attributable to an editing process. The best example of such passages are the self-contained Letters MI and MII of the *Discussions*. Both are present in their entirety (ff. 109r.10-110v.21, and ff. 110v.21-111v.11), but we also find edited excerpts of them scattered through the whole of the recension.¹⁴⁰ Finally, aṣ-Ṣignāhī concludes *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt* at 114v.13 by stating: "End of what was found of this" (*āḥiru l-mawḡūdi min hādā*), but ff. 114.15-116r.5 contain yet more *Mubāḥaṭāt* material in different versions¹⁴¹ before the colophon at 116r.6-7.

A cautious explanation for this apparent disorder may be sought by positing the state of the materials aṣ-Ṣignāhī had acquired. Nothing we know about Ṣignāhī suggests that he was responsible for the radical deconstruction of the *Mubāḥaṭāt* materials he copied. Al-Bayhaqī is more comfortable calling him a bibliographer, rather than a scholar. It is more likely, then, that the *Mubāḥaṭāt* materials and other texts had already been subject to an editorial process by the time that Ṣignāhī acquired them.¹⁴²

Some general characterizations of the Ṣignāhī Codex Recension might help elucidate this process of revision and re-ordering.

- a. A revision of some passages from Ibn Sīnā's letters to Bahmanyār (MI-MIII).
- b. The presence of duplicates and, in some cases, triplicates of the same material. In most cases the first version of this material contains only Ibn Sīnā's responsa, re-worked as dicta akin to the material found in the *Taʿlīqāt*; the second version appears to be secondary copies of the original questions and responses, occasionally introduced with narrative markers (such as "he was challenged on a point, i.e..., and he responded...").

¹⁴⁰ See the table in Appendix B. MII suffered the most in this deconstruction process. Note that the beginning of MII (i.e., *Bidārfar* 47-49) is also found in MS C, 113v.10-16. This was overlooked by Gutas in "Avicenna's Library," p. 12 (also "112v11-113v15" there should properly read 112v.11-113v.16).

¹⁴¹ Badawī noted this fact, p. 236, n. 2.

¹⁴² Thus, it is perhaps more appropriate to describe the materials in Ṣignāhī's codex as a collection of materials that in part may have once been a recension of *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt*, prior to the editing process evident in those materials. At the time aṣ-Ṣignāhī copied these materials, it could no longer be considered a recension in the proper sense of the word because the author of this revision did not seek to present a critical (i.e., historical) version of materials but rather seems to have sought their complete deconstruction. The addition of texts wholly unrelated to the *Mubāḥaṭāt* to the collection aṣ-Ṣignāhī acquired can be viewed as evidence of the extreme disorder of the materials as a whole at that time.

Where we find a triplicate version (roughly coinciding with the material Badawī omitted from his edition; see Appendix A), the version agrees on the whole with the text in the Earlier Recensions of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt.

- c. A core of materials introduced as passages “from Ibn Sīnā’s hand.”¹⁴³ These materials are generally questions and responses, though four are introduced as *fuṣūl*, or “sections.” The questions in some cases appear to have been edited.
- d. The presence of materials not properly a part of the Mubāḥaṭāt. Three texts are readily identifiable as not being parts the Mubāḥaṭāt: the “Letter to Kiyā”; Ibn Sīnā’s *al-ʿAhd*; and the Letter to Abū Ṭāhir ibn Ḥassūl. The first letter is located at the beginning of the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension; the other two are found within the body of the recension. Other texts are less readily identifiable as Accretional Mubāḥaṭāt passages. Of particular importance are those passages known as the *Budūr*, which appear to be sections from a notebook of passages, referred to in some of the questions and responses of the Mubāḥaṭāt, and containing disquisitions on a variety of philosophical themes. One set of these materials is introduced as *Budūr* in the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension (first set, second version; see Badawī 385ff.); the other set can be identified through the section headings of the same materials in L2. The Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension contains two versions of both sets of these *budūr*; see Appendix A.¹⁴⁴
- e. The presence of material which is not found in any of the Earlier and Later Recensions, but which the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension shares with the L2 compilation.¹⁴⁵ The majority of this material takes the form of expository passages on philosophical issues, that is, it does not appear to have arisen in a question and response setting. An identification of this material is difficult; there is some indication that at least part of it may not be by Ibn Sīnā, but rather by Ibn Zayla.¹⁴⁶ Bīdārfar has copied this material from Badawī’s edition as part of his Appendix.¹⁴⁷
- f. The presence of a small amount of material wholly unique to the Ṣignāḥī

¹⁴³ The majority of these examples are introduced as *min ḥaṭṭihī*, eight are introduced as *bi-ḥaṭṭihī* (272, 279, 289, 290a, 297, 347, 350, 418), and one alone is introduced as *ʿan ḥaṭṭihī* (298). There may be subtle connotative differences amongst these wordings related to the process of transmission.

¹⁴⁴ For further details on the so-called *Budūr*, see Chapter Four, Section III.D

¹⁴⁵ On the L2 compilation, see Section IV below.

¹⁴⁶ For instance, the passage in Badawī 208/Bīdārfar 1108 appears to be Ibn Zayla’s commentary on Ibn Sīnā’s definition of “nature” from the *Šifā: as-Samāʿ aṭ-Ṭabīʿī*. See Chapter Three, Section II.C.c.2 and Appendix F for collated passages.

¹⁴⁷ A Table of Correspondence between Badawī’s edition and Bīdārfar’s Appendix has been assembled by J. Michot (see “La réponse,” p. 217). Badawī’s numbers 115-130, 135-166, are properly identified as the *budūr*, and so should not be included in this particular group of Accretional Mubāḥaṭāt material. Those entries that Michot has marked with a question mark belong to L2 alone.

Codex Recension. It is impossible to state unequivocally that this material does not form a proper part of the Mubāḥaṭāt materials. Bīdārfar has copied the majority of this material in his Appendix. Badawī/Bīdārfar: 65/1009, 67/1010, 70 and 384/1011, 196/1095, 214/1111, 263/1137, 485/1141. Two segments were overlooked by Bīdārfar: Badawī 184, and 260.

A number of general remarks can be made on the basis of these characteristics. The Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension is interwoven with a significant amount of Accretional Mubāḥaṭāt material. The materials that can be identified as the Mubāḥaṭāt exist in two, sometimes three versions in the codex. Clearly, these materials were subject to a very complex transmission process between Ibn Sīnā's death in 428/1037 and the general period to which we can date aṣ-Ṣignāḥī's scribal activity (roughly the first half of the 12th century)—nearly one hundred years. This transmission process included not only a revision of some of the Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt materials but also a concatenation of those materials with other works, letters, and notes by Ibn Sīnā.

It would be impossible to reconstruct properly the original Mubāḥaṭāt materials from the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension, but it would not be unduly reckless to suggest that at least some of these materials were Ibn Sīnā's versions of parts of the Discussions. In other words, it is likely that some of those original materials were Ibn Sīnā's own copies of his responses to the questions posed by his students, since some of the texts in the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension still bear the notices that they were in his handwriting. Other Mubāḥaṭāt materials in this recension appear to be secondary copies of both questions and responses, or just Ibn Sīnā's responses. As was seen in the discussion of the scribal note attached to the Later Recension, we know that the original form of the Mubāḥaṭāt as a textual record (omitting for now the self-contained letters) was pieces of paper, some containing questions in the interlocutors' hands, others containing Ibn Sīnā's responses in his hand. This jumble of material was subject to a variety of attempts at compilation. In the case of the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension, the deconstruction of this material seems to have been directed toward constructing a text that at least in part would resemble the *Ta'liqāt*. For in this duplicate edited material, all external references to the historical context in which the Mubāḥaṭāt took place were removed, and in many instances the questions were reworked to appear as part of a disquisition by Ibn Sīnā, that is, the relevant parts of the questions were integrated into Ibn Sīnā's original responses.¹⁴⁸

An important caveat to this hypothesis is that this process of editing was

¹⁴⁸ The Table in Appendix B will facilitate collation of the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension with the Earlier and Later Recensions (represented there by Bīdārfar's edition) for any studies of this revision process.

not applied to *all* of the materials in the Ṣignāḥī recension. This fact suggests that what we have in the Ṣignāḥī recension is, in broad terms, two versions of overlapping materials: the original materials; and a revised version of those materials. The Accretional Mubāḥaṭāt materials, with the exception of two self-contained letters (MIVa and Letter to Kiyā), may or may not have been subject to revision; a significant amount of these materials are found in L2 in a somewhat different order, but display no significant textual variation with the Ṣignāḥī version. Such a situation of two versions of the same material existing together appears characteristic of other sections of the Ṣignāḥī codex, as witnessed by the two versions of parts of Ibn Sīnā's commentary on the *Theologia Aristotelis*, itself a part of the *Inṣāf*, also found in this manuscript (see Gutas, "Avicenna's Library," p. 12).¹⁴⁹

While it is important to note that some of the original materials of the Mubāḥaṭāt were found on slips of paper in no particular order, it would be unwise to suggest that it was aṣ-Ṣignāḥī who was responsible for compiling them in the order they are found in his codex, and we can be relatively certain that it was not aṣ-Ṣignāḥī who subjected some of them to a subsequent revision. The closest comparable version of some of the materials in aṣ-Ṣignāḥī's recension is L2. A collation of the two manuscripts indicates that, while blocs of passages are found in the same order in both manuscripts, the order of the materials as a whole varies. This fact indicates that those materials that overlap in the two manuscripts were copied at two different times, but both must be removed at least once from the original slips of paper that constituted the Mubāḥaṭāt materials. The following situation must have obtained: first the scraps were copied into fascicles, and then those fascicles were copied in differing orders into the two manuscripts. This accounts for the similar order in blocs of passages (the fascicles) as well as the differing order of the whole of the material. But the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension also contains other versions of the same materials which are not found in L2, and L2 contains materials common to the Earlier and Later Recensions of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt. These facts can be reconciled only by positing two separate copying processes for the fascicles.

Furthermore, while the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension shares a common haphazardness in its arrangement of materials with L2, there are textual indications that some of the material in the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension is related to the Earlier Recensions (MSS Y, A, L1, E). In fact, a substantive variant in the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension allows us to group it with the Earlier Recensions against the Later Recension (see below, Section VII). This may indicate that parts of the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension are ultimately derived from an Earlier Recension. However, the Ṣignāḥī Recension still remains distinct from even

¹⁴⁹ See also Gutas, "Avicenna's Library," p. 10, and *Avicenna*, p. 138.

the largest of the Earlier Recensions in that it contains additional materials. As has been argued, it is unlikely that the revision process evident in the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension was undertaken on the original fragmented materials. If this proves true, there may have been an Early Recension that was subjected to that revision process. If so, the textual variants that MS C shares with the Earlier Recensions may allow for a future identification of the base copy for the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension, but we can expect such a collation to be complicated by the editing process evident in the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension.

Finally, if aṣ-Ṣignāḥī was not the recensor of the materials he copied into his codex, who was? As has been stated, aṣ-Ṣignāḥī's position in the line of intellectual inheritance from Ibn Sīnā appears to descend through Bahmanyār and al-Lawkarī. A reasonable identification of Bahmanyār's Recension of the Mubāḥaṭāt is posited with regard to MS E; this compilation bears no structural relation to the recension found in aṣ-Ṣignāḥī's codex. Al-Lawkarī, however, appears to be a much more likely candidate. A discernible similarity between the *Ta'liqāt* and the revision of parts of the Mubāḥaṭāt found in the Ṣignāḥī codex has already been noted, and we know that al-Lawkarī was very familiar with the *Ta'liqāt*; after all, it was he who was responsible for the *fihrist* of that work in the version attributed to Bahmanyār.¹⁵⁰ In the future, it might prove more fitting to term the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt the Lawkarī Recension.

IV. FASCICLES DERIVATIVE OF RECENSIONS

The two groups of manuscripts listed in this section (the first L2 alone, the second X2, R2, H2 collectively as witnesses to a lost archetype) are distinguished from the fascicles of "Original Materials" (see above I.A-B) in that they appear to derive in some way from a combination of the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension and one of the Earlier Recensions (probably represented by MS A).¹⁵¹ As such, they contain selections of both the edited material of

¹⁵⁰ See Mahdavi 49, especially p. 62. Al-Lawkarī is said to have completed the contents list of the *Ta'liqāt* in 503/1109.

¹⁵¹ The results of a collation of L2 with the MSS C, B, and A are pertinent in this regard. In all instances of collation of C, L2, and B, C and L2 agree where they have the same material; in no instances does L2 agree with B. In the materials common to L2, B, and A, L2 agrees with A against B. Of the materials common to L2 and B, all are also common to A. Furthermore, L2 does not contain any material that is *not* also found in A, and it lacks that material in B that A also lacks (e.g., Bīdārfar 324-5, 448, and 516). L2 clearly has material from the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension but it also shares material with A. L2, then, is probably a combination of materials from C and extracts of an Earlier Recension, probably represented by A. It is significant in this regard that C is probably also derived from the Earlier Recension represented by A, rather than from any other Earlier Recension. But it is important to note that the compiler of L2 (who was probably the scribe

the former and the original material of the latter. It is unlikely that they derived their original material directly from one of the Earlier Recensions. Rather, what appears to have happened is that sometime shortly after the abortive editing attempt made on an Earlier Recension by the recensor of the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension, the original materials of that Earlier Recension and the newly edited materials were copied onto fascicles.

There are a number of additional points to be observed about these two groups. The most important is that, while they share much of their material with the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension, they also contain material not found in that recension (e.g., Bīdārfar 9). But this material that they alone possess was edited in much the same fashion that we find in the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension. Because it seems more than likely that they derive their edited material from that recension (and not through another editing process), it becomes difficult to explain why they would have material that that recension lacks. While many of the details concerning the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension remain to be fully explained, one fact is clear to anyone who has studied it: the process of editing remains incomplete in its present form (see above Section III). In the case of the two groups to be discussed here, we might suggest that the reason they possess material which their putative ancestor does not is that one of the larger and unrealized intentions of the editor of the materials in the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension was to break down and re-arrange all of the Mubāḥaṭāt materials (and other private correspondence) into discrete works. So in those cases in which the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension and the two groups discussed here share material, it is because the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension served as a repository for all of the edited and unedited material from which discrete works were to be created. And in those cases in which the two groups contain material no longer found in the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension, it is because the process of creating discrete works in those cases had been completed (and so the materials were removed from the “repository”).

Another point is that while the two groups share much of the same material (although L2 of course contains a great deal more), there is a relatively sizeable amount of material found in the second group that is not to be found in L2. A reasonable explanation for this discrepancy lies in the availability of materials. The scribe of L2 appears to have gathered together all of the materials available to him which resembled the Earlier Recension that he had copied (L1) but which were circulating independently of that Earlier Recension. That some materials escaped his notice is not surprising.

of Leiden Warn. Or. 864 as a whole) did not derive the material common to MSS A and L2 directly from MS A (or its apographs) but must have had access to the material only after its deconstruction by the recensor of the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension. The reason for this is simple: the scribe of Warn. Or. 864 explicitly states that the material of L2 is not part of what he knew as Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt. This material, then, must have already been in a fragmented state when he had access to it.

The most important characteristic of these two groups is that they contain both edited and unedited (i.e., original) materials. Both sets of materials must derive in some fashion from the “repository” that now constitutes the Ṣignāhī Codex Recension, although the original materials ultimately go back to an Earlier Recension which was the subject of the editing process in that “repository.” But they would eventually circulate in fascicle form independently of both the posited Earlier Recension and the Ṣignāhī Codex Recension. A table of material shared among the two groups and the Ṣignāhī Codex Recension is found after the descriptions of the manuscripts here.

IV.A. *Leiden Warner Or. 864, Part 2 (L2)* [Before 717/1317]

The codex Leiden Warner Or. 864 as a whole contains nearly all of the materials that would eventually comprise Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt. However, these materials are there arranged in a unique manner. Folios 1v-76r contain one of the Earlier Recensions (as discussed in Section II.A.c) and is referred to as L1. The remaining folios (i.e., 76r ff.) contain not only some of the materials also found in the Earlier Recension preceding them but also additional materials. Scribal indications of the boundaries of these remaining folios show that these materials after leaf 76r as a whole should be divided into two parts. The first part (76r-81v) is made up of Bahmanyār’s *talhīṣ* of sections of the *Šifāʾ:al-Ilāhīyāt* and Ibn Sīnā’s Letter to Kiyā. The second part (81v-132r) contains a collection of Mubāḥaṭāt and Accretional Mubāḥaṭāt materials, including responsa and dicta by Ibn Sīnā and his students, as well as the *talhīṣ* by Ibn Zayla found in MS Ṣ2 (see above I.A.a.)

It is difficult to categorize L2 in an adequate matter. It is manifestly different from the smaller collections of fascicles arranged in Section I.A simply because it is larger, but there are indications that this collection was made from smaller fascicles similar in codicological terms to those found in Section I.A. However, L2 differs in a more fundamental way from those other fascicles in that its discrete units appear to descend from the Ṣignāhī Codex Recension and one of the Earlier Recensions. Thus, while its codicology resembles the fascicles discussed in I.A, its ancestry is of an entirely different nature.

To understand how L2 could be combined in a single codex with another recension of the Mubāḥaṭāt (i.e., L1) and yet *not* be described as made up of Mubāḥaṭāt materials, we have to examine the indications provided by the scribe of Leiden Warner Or. 864

In his title, the scribe presents a description of his material. There are a number of elements of this description that require comment, both with regard to the terms he uses to describe the material and with regard to his colophons. There are four parts to the scribe’s description (I have added numbers in angular brackets to separate the parts in the Arabic below).

١> كتاب المباحثات للشيخ الرئيس أبى على الحسين بن سينا رحمه الله وهى مكاتبات وسؤالات الكيا بهمنيار تلميذ الشيخ وأجوبة الشيخ الرئيس له وفيه <٢> ما وجد له من تفاريق آخر <٣> ويقترن بها ما وجدت من أسئلة وأجوبة وتعليقات وبذور تُشاكل ذلك <٤> ونتف من كتابه المعروف بالبر والاثم وكتاب المبدأ والمعاد له

The three elements of this descriptive title that are of importance for the present study are as follows:

1. “Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt by ...Ibn Sīnā, that is, the correspondence and questions of the Šayḥ’s student al-Kiyā Bahmanyār¹⁵² and the responses of the Šayḥ to him;
2. including some other separate parts (*tafārīq uḥar*¹⁵³) belonging to [Ibn Sīnā] that were found;
3. and added to them are some questions and responses, notes (*taʿlīqāt*), and other similar fragments (*budūr*) which I found.”

The first part is a lucid description of the Earlier Recension in this codex (L1): the term “correspondence” denotes the letters that form part of the Mubāḥaṭāt (MI-MIII, although the attribution of MIVa to Bahmanyār is unlikely); and “questions” describes the remaining material introduced for the most part with *s(uʿāl)* and *ġ(awāb)*. The colophon of this Earlier Recension (76r) states:

الى هاهنا وجدتُ المباحثات فى عدة نسخ...ثم وجدتُ بعدُ هذه
المسائل والجواب له فألحقها بها

Up to this point I found the Mubāḥaṭāt in a number of manuscripts,.... Afterwards I found these [following] questions and [Ibn Sīnā’s] response, so I will add them.

According to the scribe, then, what he considered Kitāb Mubāḥaṭāt concludes at 76r; the remaining material was not found in his exemplar(s) of Kitāb Mubāḥaṭāt. If we are to adhere to the scribe’s descriptive title, we should then expect two additional parts to follow: texts that were found separate (*tafārīq*) from Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt materials and likely from one other; and additional material generically characterized as responsa, notes, and fragments. But the scribe’s colophon on leaf 76r describes what follows as “questions

¹⁵² Nowhere else is Bahmanyār accorded the title al-Kiyā (excluding the fanciful testimony of Nizāmī ‘Arūdī; see Chapter Three, Section II.B.b); this suggests that the concatenation of the identities of the Kiyā of Ibn Sīnā’s Letter to Kiyā and Bahmanyār had begun by the time the Leiden codex was copied. See the discussion in Chapter Three, Section II.B.

¹⁵³ Note the use of the pluralis communis *uḥar* for the inanimate plural *tafārīq*.

and [Ibn Sīnā's] response." What in fact then follows is MVI^d (76r-79v), which is a *talhīṣ* of part of the *Šifāʾ:al-Ilāhīyāt* and which in another very early codex (Leiden Gol. 184) is attributed to Bahmanyār, followed by Ibn Sīnā's "Letter to Kiyā" (80r-81v). Neither of these can be described as "questions and responses."

This apparent contradiction between the descriptive title and colophon is, however, a relatively minor point. A likely explanation for the contradiction is that the descriptive title was composed after the scribe had copied all of his materials, and so had formulated more precise descriptions for them, whereas the colophon to the Earlier Recension of the Mubāḥaṭāt was composed as the scribe was selecting and copying his materials.¹⁵⁴ A much more significant point to be noted is that MVI^d, the "Letter to Kiyā," and the remaining material—which constitutes an uncritical compilation of Mubāḥaṭāt and Accretional Mubāḥaṭāt materials (L2)—were found in copies unrelated to the recension of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt that comes first in this codex. That L2 was most probably also found in a copy separate from the other materials (viz. the Earlier Recension, Bahmanyār's *talhīṣ*, and the "Letter to Kiyā") is confirmed by the scribe's descriptive title: he tells us that it was "added to" the first two parts.

Folios 81v-123r contain an uncritical compilation of Mubāḥaṭāt materials and other texts. As has been stated, the Mubāḥaṭāt materials include textual versions of responsa similar to the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension, and versions similar to the Earlier Recensions. The Accretional Mubāḥaṭāt materials include the so-called *budūr* also found in the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension (although not in duplicate as in the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension), *fuṣūl* found in both the Earlier and Later Recensions, and which here include Ibn Zayla's *talhīṣ* of an unidentified Ibn Sīnā work (see above, I.A.a. for more details), and other passages shared with the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension. This is quite a mix of material which the scribe has sought to explain in detail. What seems to have happened is that the scribe of Warn. Or. 864 first copied an Earlier Recension of the Mubāḥaṭāt, and then gathered other texts from different sources and added them after the Earlier Recension. Those parts of these latter materials which are similar to texts found in the Ṣignāḥī codex likely came either from the Ṣignāḥī codex itself or later archetypes of its discrete parts. Other texts, such as Bahmanyār's *talhīṣ* and the "Letter to Kiyā," were transmitted for some time independently of the Recensions; the scribe must have had access to such independently circulating versions.

The fact that L2 contains materials both from the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension and materials that would come to be included in the Recensions is equally

¹⁵⁴ Alternately, the descriptive title of the codex and the colophons were the work of two different individuals, and hence part of two different exemplars from which the scribe made his codex.

significant; it suggests that Mubāḥaṭāt materials continued to exist in at least one transmission process in a very disorganized manner for a substantial period of time after the death of Ibn Sīnā, Bahmanyār, and the other individuals who contributed to the discussions. As with the Ṣignāhī Codex Recension, however, it should not be thought that these materials remained as late as the 12th century in the form of the scattered pieces of paper that we know to have been the earliest form of the Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt materials. While the overall order of L2 is neither that of the Ṣignāhī Codex Recension nor that of the critical Recensions, various sections do follow the order of one or another recension. This is further evidence that the scraps of materials were at some point copied into fascicles, and the availability and selection of fascicles led to differing overall orders in the various recensions.

The sigla, rubrics, and colophon of the L2 recension provide additional information in this regard. The discussion in Part One concerning the sigla employed in L2 to demarcate the boundaries of the fascicles used for the collection indicates that this characteristic is one shared by the various collections of Mubāḥaṭāt materials as a whole. Rubrics employed by the scribe within the L2 compilation suggest that a considerable amount of the material in these fascicles was originally found in Ibn Sīnā's hand, including questions,¹⁵⁵ responses, and Accretional Mubāḥaṭāt expository passages. However, it is impossible to say at what remove from the period in which L2 was copied these materials were found in Ibn Sīnā's hand. Furthermore, the information provided by these rubrics displays some inconsistency. At 101r, we find the rubric: "section of [Ibn Sīnā's] speech in his handwriting" (*faṣl min kalāmihī bi-ḥaṭṭihī*), and this is followed by more *faṣl* divisions of the text, viz. at 109v, 111r, and 111v. These sections as a whole seem to end at 125v.2¹⁵⁶ with the statement: "so conclude the sections in [Ibn Sīnā's] handwriting" (*inqaḍati l-fuṣūlu llatī bi-ḥaṭṭi š-šayḥ*). But within these sections we find additional rubrics before certain passages that note that the material came "from his hand" (*min ḥaṭṭihī*). Thus, it is not clear if all of the *fuṣūl* were at some point in Ibn Sīnā's holograph, as is suggested by the concluding note at 125v.2, or if only those passages introduced with "from his hand" are to be treated as such.

Other rubrics within the *fuṣūl* divisions indicate sources for some of the Accretional Mubāḥaṭāt material. The three most important of these are at 108r where we find *min al-buḍūr*, at 115v where we find *bi-ḥaṭṭihī buḍūr*, and at 117v where we find *buḍūr mutafarriqa*. The rubric at 115v coincides with the material in the Ṣignāhī Codex Recension also introduced by *bi-ḥaṭṭihī*

¹⁵⁵ We must assume in these cases that Ibn Sīnā copied his interlocutors' questions in his own hand before writing his responses.

¹⁵⁶ As has been explained, the folios at the end of the manuscript have fallen out of order, so while L2 concludes at 123r, the proper order of the folios is: 119, 125, 121, 122, 123, 124, 120, 126-129.

budūr. The additional material introduced as *budūr* in L2 is also to be found in the Ṣignāhī Codex Recension, but without introduction. The work of the L2 scribe, then, aids in identifying the remainder of this particular set of Accretional Mubāḥaṭāt material.

The colophon of L2 presents further difficulty, offering as it does a characterization of the material that is somewhat different from the descriptive title of the codex as a whole.

تمّ القدر الذي وجدته من التعليقات والمباحث والمسائل المتفرقة...

So conclude the parts I found of the *Taʿlīqāt*, the *Mabāḥiṭ*, and miscellaneous questions [and responses].

Only one term is common to both the descriptive title of the codex and the colophon of L2: *taʿlīqāt*, or “notes.” Mention of “other separate parts” (*tafārīq uḥar*), “questions and responses,” and “other similar fragments (*budūr*)” is nowhere in evidence. Again, it is likely that the lack of consistency between the colophon and the descriptive title is to be explained by the hypothesis that they were written at different times. Nonetheless, the characterizations of the material from the colophon must be addressed. Because so much material of L2 overlaps with the Earlier Recension of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt in L1, found in the same codex, it is difficult to understand how the scribe conceived of the texts he was copying. It is unlikely that the term *taʿlīqāt* was understood to refer to Ibn Sīnā’s work by that title which was also in circulation when the Leiden Warner 864 codex was copied, although it is significant in another regard that two passages in L2 are also found in a different form in the *Taʿlīqāt*.¹⁵⁷ But we cannot assume that the scribe was aware of this fact; he certainly displays no indication that he was a scholar familiar with Ibn Sīnā’s works in such detail. Otherwise, we might expect him to have attempted to further reconcile the materials in Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt recension that is L1 with the duplicate passages of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt in L2, which he certainly does not. He has stated in the descriptive title that the parts of L2 are *not* parts of the Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt. But this conceptualization of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt on the part of the scribe clearly presented him with a problem. The fact that two versions of the same material existed in what he terms Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt and also in a series of texts—L2—that he explicitly states is not Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt is reconciled somewhat by his use of the term *mabāḥiṭ* in his colophon.

One possibility is that the scribe, in casting about for a suitable way to describe the material he had copied in L2, chose terms that would be familiar in the context of Ibn Sīnā’s works. *Taʿlīqāt* can be understood to refer to those parts of the material not preceded by questions, while *mabāḥiṭ*

¹⁵⁷ The passages in L2 correspond to Bīdārfar 853-4/Badawī 471-2, Bīdārfar 858/Badawī 476; note that the Ṣignāhī Codex Recension and the Later Recension contain two more: 739/462, 745-6/333. None of these passages is found in L1.

would refer to the questions and responses preceded by *s(uʿāl)* and *ğ(awāb)*, some of which the scribe had earlier transcribed in his copy of *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt*. *Al-masʿal al-mutafarriqa*, finally, would refer to those passages introduced with *masʿala...ğawāb*. However, the choice of the term *al-mabāḥiṭ* to describe at least parts of L2 is of great significance. As will be seen in the next chapter, Ibn Sīnā is credited with a work entitled *Kitāb al-Mabāḥiṭ* in al-Bayhaqī's *Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-ḥikma*, and in one admittedly late instance, Mullā Ṣadrā would cite a passage from a work entitled *al-Mabāḥiṭ* (a passage in fact found in *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt*), though he also knew of a work entitled *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt*. If the scribe of L2 had correctly noted the passages from the *Taʿlīqāt*, we might also suppose that he could have identified passages in L2 with a work circulating under the title *al-Mabāḥiṭ*.

Tables of materials shared by L2 with the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension (MS C) and the Later Recension (MS B, edited by Bīdārfar) are to be found in Appendix C.

IV.B. *Responsa and Dicta on Metaphysics and the Theory of the Soul*

Exemplars X2, R2, H2 contain a series of *responsa* and *dicta* concerned with issues related to Ibn Sīnā's metaphysics and the theory of the soul. This series shares characteristics and indeed materials with the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension and the L2 compilation. These characteristics include a posited editing process, in which parts of the self-contained letters that form a portion of the *Mubāḥaṭāt* were extracted and slightly reworded, and an order of passages that suggest an origin in a fascicle form for the materials. These series include materials found either only in the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension or only in the L2 compilation.¹⁵⁸ The differences in overall order between this series on the one hand, and the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension and the L2 compilation on the other hand is to be explained by the availability and copy order of the fascicles. Of great significance is the presence both of passages found elsewhere only in L2 (see Bīdārfar 1153-1157), as well as a version of Ibn Zayla's *talḥiṣ* (MVIe) found in the order that it takes in the L2 compilation and in the Earlier and Later Recensions.

Anawati and Maḥdavī were aware of this series in R2 and X2, but both present their information in a confusing manner. Anawati lists the same work under two numbers (17, 176), recording R2 under the first and X2 under the second.¹⁵⁹ Maḥdavī also lists the work under two numbers (135, 194), but he did establish that it contained portions of the *Mubāḥaṭāt*.

¹⁵⁸ The comparison here is between the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension and the L2 compilation only. The materials exist also in the Earlier and Later Recensions, but not in the textual versions and discrete orders that we find them to share with the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension and L2.

¹⁵⁹ Actually, Anawati has only "Berlin" under the second copy, but the information is also found in Brockelmann (no. 26). The manuscript is Berlin 5124, Pm. II 466, ff. 36v-48v; see Ahlwardt, no. 5124.

Two of the exemplars of this series have been dated: X2 was copied in 889/1484, and H2 in the 10th-11th/17th-18th centuries. R2 proves more difficult, but it certainly was not copied prior to the 9th/15th century. Exemplars X2 and H2 share a common title against R2, and this may suggest a relation between the two.¹⁶⁰ Exemplar R2 displays marked textual variation against X2, consisting primarily of lacunae that are the result of scribal inattention. Clearly X2 cannot derive from R2, while the reverse could be the case; this is impossible to determine without more precise external dating for R2.

IV.B.a. *Berlin Petermann II 466 (X2)*

See Ahlwardt, no. 5124, for the identification.

(2). 38v-46v. Entitled *Ağwibat masā'il su'ila 'anhā Abū 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Sīnā wa-fuṣūl min kalāmihī*.¹⁶¹

IV.B.b. *Ragıp Paşa 1461 (R2)*

(2). 140v-145v. Entitled *Hāḍihī fuṣūl wa-masā'il min kalāmihī*.

IV.B.c. *Āḥūnd 1187 (H2)* [10th-11th/17th-18th c.]

This manuscript is briefly described and its contents listed in *Fihrist-i nuṣṣah-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi Kitābḥānah-hā-yi Rasht u Hamadān*.¹⁶² Dated to the 10th-11th/17th-18th centuries, it contains a great number of Ibn Sīnā's smaller treatises, and other smaller works by Kindī, Fārābī, Naṣīr ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī, and others.

(2). 150-5. The series is here entitled *Ağwibat masā'il su'ila 'anhā Abū 'Alī ibn Sīnā wa-fuṣūl min kalāmihī*.¹⁶³

Table of Concordance

In the following table, the shared contents of [X2, R2, H2] (as a unit), L2, and C, i.e., the Şignāhī Codex Recension, are rationalized. While the contents of all most likely go back to an Earlier Recension, the table here employs Bīdārfar numbers to express the contents of R2, X2, H2, and L2,¹⁶⁴ and Badawī numbers to express the contents of MS C. “Yes” means that a particular passage is present in L2 or C, “no” means that it is not. Square brackets [] indicate parallel passages in the same recension; parentheses () indicate that only part, even just a phrase of a passage, is found in these

¹⁶⁰ The Āḥūnd manuscript was not accessible for this study.

¹⁶¹ This is also the title found in Āḥūnd 1187 but not in R2.

¹⁶² M. Rawšan, no. 1353, pp. 1465-1484.

¹⁶³ The codex also contains a copy of MII, ff. 105-6 (Rawšan, op. cit., no. 17). Bīdārfar used this manuscript for his edition of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt but was very selective about which portions he collated.

¹⁶⁴ This is because the Earlier Recension has not yet been published.

exemplars—this is occasionally expanded to part(ial similarity); R = Response, Q = Question, describing the nature of these materials.

Table 1: Contents of R2, X2, H2, L2, and C		
R2,X2, H2	L2	C/Badawī
a. 650-1	No	167b-168b 12
b. 818[654R]	Yes	229
c. 867R[615]	Yes	297
d. 868	Yes	292
e. 869	Yes	299
f. 870	Yes	290b
g. (374),376 [475],386 [476], 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 478-9	Lacks (374)	478 only = 73-4
h. 167-169	Yes	No
i. 9	Yes	No
j. 819 [701R]	No	No
k. 788[758]	Yes	No
l. 789 [420-1]	Yes	No
m. 737-8	Yes	460
n. 1153-1157	Yes	No
o. 425, 426, 427[443], 428(part)	Lacks 428part	48-52
p. 776[889]	Yes	409
q. 706(R only)	No	No
r. 714-15	No	No
s. 790	Yes	No
t. 791-794	Yes	No
u. 795	Yes	No
v. 727-730(part)	No	417 189
w. 796 [878, 645R]	Yes	339 3
x. 820-823	Yes	No
y. 824-826	Yes	No
z. 428(part)-432	No	48-52

V. The Later Recension

The Later Recension differs from the Earlier Recensions in the order of its parts.¹⁶⁵ The group as a whole is further divided into two “lines of descent.” A collation of the exemplars of the Second Line of Descent (MSS N1 and

¹⁶⁵ For details of this difference, see Table 4: Contents of the Major Recensions.

K2) with the earliest exemplar of the First Line of Descent (MS B) indicates that all three MSS at one point likely shared a common archetype.

The most significant indication of a common archetype is a variant addition of the first line of text from MIII preceding the actual introduction of MIII (i.e., after the *basmala*) in MSS B, N1, and K2.¹⁶⁶ While the only significant variant in this line of text is relatively minor,¹⁶⁷ it is not clear how to explain the original cause of this repetition in all three MSS. Perhaps the scribe of the common archetype had two copies of MIII at hand, one of which was deficient in some way, and so he changed copies but not before copying the first line of the deficient copy. This repetition was dutifully copied by the scribes of MSS B, N1, and K2.

The most significant indication of divided lines of descent from a common archetype is the absence of two marginal notes in MSS K2 and N1. These marginal notes in the exemplars of the First Line of Descent are associated with Bīdārfar 428 and 489 (both part of MVIa2). Both of these marginal additions may be a reader's notes.¹⁶⁸ The first notes an apparent contradiction in two of Ibn Sīnā's statements; the second explains the meaning of "affection" (*infī'āl*). It is unlikely, though by no means impossible, that the scribe of MS N1 (and then followed by the scribe of K2) would have chosen not to copy marginal notes from his archetype. This would suggest that there was at least one intermediate exemplar between the common archetype and MS B and that that intermediate exemplar is the source of the reader's notes.

The division of this group into First and Second Lines of Descent should not imply a chronological sequence of copying for the two sub-sets. The terminology here is based solely upon the relative dating of the exemplars.

V.A. *First Line of Descent*

V.A.a. *Bodleian Huntington 534*¹⁶⁹ (B) [634/1237]

There is no physical description of this manuscript available at present.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁶ This line of text is not present in MS Ğ, which Bīdārfar argues is one of MS B's descendants. I did not have access to D1, the other exemplar Bīdārfar maintains is a descendant of MS B. Bīdārfar did not even note the addition of this line in MS B in his critical apparatus, so his evidence for MS D1 in this regard cannot be accepted either.

¹⁶⁷ I.e., *kitāb* for *ḥiṭāb* (see Bīdārfar 55.3). The line of text runs from *waṣala* to *at-tāmm* (Bīdārfar 55.3-4) and is also found in MS O (see below).

¹⁶⁸ However, it is suggested in Chapter Four, Sections II.A.b, II.K.b, and II.L.c, that Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī may be responsible for these and other notes; in other words, they may be a part of the original Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt texts and not a later reader's notes.

¹⁶⁹ Bīdārfar, introduction, pp. 19, 36, gives the incorrect shelf number 457. Note also that Mahdavi (M106 and *passim*) has numbered the MS 456, following Uri's catalogue numbers.

¹⁷⁰ The early catalogue of the Bodleian collection by J. Uri (*Bibliothecae Bodleianae*) did not include physical descriptions of the manuscripts. A brief identification of the codex with a cursory

The colophon of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt dates that part of the codex to Dū l-Ḥiġġa 634/July-August 1237.¹⁷¹ There are two ownership notes and one *waqf* note on the original title page (2r). The first is undated: *ṣāḥibuhū* ‘Abd al-Qādir (?) *al-Muʿayyadī*. The second is in the hand of Muʿayyad Zādah, a 9th/15th century judge who pursued his career in Istanbul.¹⁷² His ownership note is dated 26 ar-Rabiʿ al-Āḥir 900/24 January 1495 in Istanbul. Muʿayyad Zādah’s *taʿlīq* script can also be identified with one set of marginal variant (*nusha*) notes to Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt in this manuscript.¹⁷³ The *waqf* is dated end of Šaʿbān 1026/August-September 1617 in Medina, but the donor did not identify himself (perhaps he was a descendant of Muʿayyad Zādah?).¹⁷⁴

list of its contents can be found in *Pars Prima*, p. 117. In addition to works by Ibn Sīnā, the codex contains works by Faḥr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, Ibn Sabʿīn, and Ibn Ašʿaṭ. Muḥammad al-Maʿṣūmī briefly describes the codex in the introduction to his edition of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān* based on this manuscript (see “Risālāt Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān,” *MMIA*, 29.3 [1954], pp. 406-8), and in the introduction to his edition of Faḥr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī’s *Kitāb an-naḥs wa-r-rūḥ wa-ṣarḥ quwāḥā*, pp. 5-6, again from this manuscript.

¹⁷¹ Bīdārfar, p. 321, incorrectly transcribed the date of the colophon as 639, and in his introduction, p.19, incorrectly recorded the date as 638.

¹⁷² See GAL II, 227, S II, 319; Ziriklī, 3:318a-b. His full name is ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn ‘Alī ibn Muʿayyad al-Āmāsī. He was originally from Āmāsa in Anatolia and, after a period of travel, settled in Istanbul with posts in teaching and as a judge. He wrote works in law (*fatāwā*) and exegesis.

¹⁷³ These marginal variant notes extend only through MVc, so it is possible that the copy Muʿayyad Zādah used for his collation contained only MI—MV.

¹⁷⁴ On the title page there is also a prophetic tradition copied in a very sloppy hand. A cryptogram (with decoder) on 111r is also in this hand. There are additional hand changes in the MS. The scribe who copied Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt also copied the next work in the collection, Ibn Sīnā’s *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān* (with Ibn Zayla’s *ṣarḥ* (?), ff. 87v-110v; al-Maʿṣūmī, “Risālāt Ḥayy,” pp. 407-8, rightly notes that in MS B this *ṣarḥ* is ascribed to Ibn Sīnā himself). We then find a hand change (a large dotted and vocalized *nash*) after the cryptogram on leaf 111r for Ibn Sīnā’s *an-Naġāt*. This hand has copied the work until leaf 162v after which another hand takes over. The attendant break in the text of the *Naġāt* (in the midst of the first *maqāla* of *aṭ-Ṭabīʿiyyāt*; see ed. M. Fakhry, 139:2-3) is remedied by a short marginal note at the bottom of 161v (consisting of 11 words: *fī ʿilm...al-ilāhī*). This hand continues for the remainder of the work. The identity of this second scribe is revealed in the colophon at the end of the *Naġāt* (256v) where we are told that Naṣr ibn Maṣṣūr ibn ‘Adnān al-ʿAyzārī (al-ʿAyzārī?) finished copying the *Naġāt* at the beginning of Dū l-Ḥiġġa 466/July 1074. There then follows a collation note which seems to be in Naṣr ibn Maṣṣūr’s hand stating that collation with the archetype was completed at the beginning of Muḥarram 466/September 1074. Mahdavi (p. 239, note) was the first to suggest, in 1954, that this may be the oldest known manuscript of any of Ibn Sīnā’s works. But as I have noted here, it is not a complete copy of the *Naġāt* and at present there is no way of dating the other hand, which copied the work to the first *maqāla* of *aṭ-Ṭabīʿiyyāt*. However, there are more serious problems with Naṣr ibn Maṣṣūr’s colophon and collation note. First the *sitta*, six, of the date 466 in the colophon has been written over what appears to be *ṭamānin*, eight. Second, the dates of the colophon and the collation note present contradictory evidence. The collation of the copy is said to have been completed in Muḥarram of 466, that is, the *first* month of the year, while the completion of the copying is said to have occurred in Dū l-Ḥiġġa of 466, that is, the *last* month of the year. It is extremely unlikely that collation of a work would be undertaken prior to completion of the actual copying! This and the change made in the colophon’s date raise perhaps minor questions about the date of the copy; these questions, however, cannot be resolved without bibliographical information

Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt is found on folios 2v-87r.

In addition to the *nusha* variants in *taʿlīq* recorded by Muʿayyad Zādah in the 10th/15th century, there are two other sets of marginalia in the margins of B. One hand is that of the scribe who made corrections (*ṣaḥḥa*) after collating his copy with its archetype. A third hand is a round *nash* that makes no indication of what type of material is being recorded, but it must consist of additional *nusha* variants. These variants do not agree with Muʿayyad Zādah’s variants. Thus, the margins of B contain the variants of two other witnesses of the same recension. Both of these witnesses await identification.

V.A.a.1. Descendants of MS B

V.A.a.1.i. Miškāt 1149 (D1) [Before 962/1554-5]

This is the first copy of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt found in this codex, falling between folios 70v-109r.¹⁷⁵ Bīdārfar (introduction, pp. 20-1)¹⁷⁶ has copied the salient information from Dānišpažūh’s catalogue of the Miškāt collection and presented compelling evidence that the exemplar D1 was copied either directly or through an intermediary from MS B. As stated above, Dānišpažūh dated the manuscript to a period prior to 962/1554-5 on the basis of an ownership note.

V.A.a1.ii. Mağlis I 634 (Ğ1) [1043/1633-4]

This manuscript is briefly described and its contents listed in the catalogue by Yūsuf Iʿtiṣāmī.¹⁷⁷ Bīdārfar (intro., p. 21) argued that this copy of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt (ff. 128r-180r) is related to MSS B and D1 but was unable to establish a precise stemma. The manuscript’s colophon includes the copy date 1043/1633-4.

A minor modification to Bīdārfar’s argument concerning the relationship of MSS B, D1, and Ğ is in order. Bīdārfar (introduction, pp. 20-21) presented two pieces of evidence for a descent of MSS D1 and Ğ from MS B. The first alone is of importance here. In MS B, 41r.3-4 and margin, we find:

on Naṣr ibn Maṣṣūr and an autopsy of the manuscript. An interesting remark from as-Saḥāwī in his biography of one Mağd ad-Dīn Abū l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥarīrī (d. 864/1459), a Cairene bookdealer, may be pertinent here: “Obtaining a defective copy, he would join the folios or quires with additional words of his own or through the addition of a word so that someone coming across the book without close inspection would consider it a complete copy. When a book was defective at the end, he would add remarks to the effect that it was a complete copy.” For this translation, see Franz Rosenthal, “Ibn Khaldūn’s Biography Revisited,” p. 45.

¹⁷⁵ See the first entry above concerning D2 (Section I.A.c.1 (2). Later Exemplars) for references to Dānišpažūh’s catalogue.

¹⁷⁶ Note that Bīdārfar refers to this manuscript as Tehran University 1149. The Miškāt collection was transferred to Tehran University but remains one collection.

¹⁷⁷ See the note above to Section I.B.c.1.iii.

لأنّ هذا يقارنه ما لا يقارن ذلك ويفارقه ما لا يفارق ذلك . س ط لم
لا يجوز أن يكون إدراكي لذاتي لحصول....

The overlined phrase is found in the margin of the folio running from the end of the line upwards. In the body of the text, we find an insertion mark *after* ذلك to indicate where the marginal addition should be found. When MSS D1 and Ğ were copied, this insertion mark was missed and as a result the phrase was misplaced:

س ط لم لا يجوز أن يكون إدراكي لذاتي لحصول ذاتي ويفارقه ما لا
يفارق ذلك....

But the marginal addition in MS B did not originate with that manuscript's scribe. As stated above, the margins of MS B contain no fewer than three different sets of marginalia: the scribe's own corrections; Mu'ayyad Zādah's variants from another manuscript; and an unattributed round *nash* script containing variants from yet another manuscript, but not identified as such. It is from this last set of marginalia that the addition to the text outlined above derives. MSS D1 and Ğ, then, were made after these marginal additions and corrections were made to MS B, but the scribes of MSS D1 and Ğ incorporated those marginalia into the body of the text, thereby producing contaminated exemplars.¹⁷⁸ As such MSS D1 and Ğ must be used with caution in the future establishment of a critical edition of this recension.¹⁷⁹

V.A.a1.iii. Mağlis I 14,473 [12th/18th c.]

(3). Ff. 179r-213r. *Al-Mubāḥaṭāt*.

V.A.b. *Possible Extracts of the Later Recension in the First Line of Descent*

Two additional manuscripts (MSS F and O) are in some way related to the Later Recension because of the presence of the Scribal Note found in the other exemplars which explains the abbreviations used in *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt*. Neither of the two following manuscripts contains the entire set of materials found in the Later Recension; in fact, they contain a good deal less. However, they are not described as abridgments, or extracts, or "parts" of *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt* by their scribes; rather they are simply presented as the actual

¹⁷⁸ It may be that the scribe of D1 alone is responsible for the contamination and that Ğ derives from D1 (consider the copy dates of the two manuscripts), but a more detailed collation of the two manuscripts will have to be made before this can be confidently asserted.

¹⁷⁹ The second example Bīdārfar presents concerns the insertion of a marginal note, treated as such by the scribe of MS B and certainly to be attributed (in the copying stage) to that scribe, into the body of the text in MSS D1 and Ğ. This second example should not thus be classified as a contamination since it originates with the hand of the original scribe of MS B.

Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt. MS F is definitely related to MS B against MSS N1 and K2 (the Second Line of Descent) because of the presence of the reader's marginal notes also found in MS B but not in MSS N1 and K2. MS O is more problematic, but there are enough substantive variants to suggest a relation with MS B and rule out a relation with MSS N1 and K2.

There are two possible explanations for the relationship of these manuscripts to MS B. Either the two manuscripts were independently circulating parts of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt from which the Later Recension was compiled, or they are in fact extracts of the larger collected Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt found in the Later Recension. The first explanation is the least likely since there is no way to account for the presence of the Scribal Note in two independently circulating parts without some original reference to a larger collection. The second explanation is more likely but does not account for the lack of any description for the two manuscripts as "extracts" of a larger collection. Whatever the original relationship was, both F and O are related to MS B but show enough separative variants to rule out direct descent.

V.A.b.1. Feyzullah 2188 (F) [1112/1700-1]

24 x 11.5 (text 16 x 6.5). 397 folios. Brown leather and board with inlaid ovoid medallion and closely set pendants, corners inlaid, all trimmed in gold flake. Bound at top. Binding is loose; repair work on bottom edge of front cover. Paper is fine, mottled oriental. Ink is black with red rubrics. Script is *ta'liq*. Feyzullah Efendi's ownership note, *waqf* note, and stamp are found on leaf 1. Stamp is dated 1112/1700-1. Ownership note:

من كتب الفقير لله فيظى لله المفتى فى السلطة العلية العثمانية

There is an undated colophon to the portion of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt:

كتبها أضعف العباد محمد من مصطفى القسطنطينى فى بلدة
قسطنطينية

211r-306r: MVIa1, MVIa2, MVIb1, MVIb2, MVIC-f. The folios of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt have fallen out of order. The correct order is: 211r-216, 238r-289, 298r-306.

The scribal note explaining the abbreviations employed in the transmission of the materials of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt introduces the work in this manuscript.

A collation of MSS B and F indicates that F cannot derive from B, but they must have had a common archetype at one point in the transmission of the recension because they share a substantive error at the crucial passage that separates the various recensions into two groups.¹⁸⁰

¹⁸⁰ See below, Section VII, for their shared error. Separative variants include (according to Bidārfar's pagination): 148.13. B يكون : F لا يكون ; 176.5. B يجوز :

V.A.b.2. Istanbul University 4545 (O)¹⁸¹ [10th/16th c.]
 11.2 x 24.5 (text 6.5 x 15.3). 32 folios; 19 lines per leaf. Red leather and board with gilt border; bound at top. Front cover has become separated from the block. Paper is fine oriental. Ink is black, with red rubrics. Script is an elegant *taʿlīq*. Lacks colophon or any other indication of date, but palaeographic evidence suggests as late as 10th/16th century.

1r: Title page: At the top edge and in a much later hand is the somewhat cryptic announcement:

المباحثات للرئيس أبو [sic] على بن سينا رحمه الله فى تركيب
 إنسان فى الحكمة

The title “Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt” follows in red ink. This in turn is followed by the Scribal Note concerning abbreviations attached to Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt in the Later Recension.

MS O contains MIII, MIVa, MIVb, MIVa-c. There are two unannounced lacunae: 1. at Bīdārfar 130-135; 2. at Bīdārfar 392 (i.e., pp. 142.ult.-143.4). The latter lacuna is in fact evident also in MSS B, N1, K2.¹⁸²

V.B. *Second Line of Descent*

The two exemplars that make up this second group share in common the lack of the two marginal notes found in exemplars of the First Line of Descent. While there are additional substantive differences between the first and second line of descent, it is clear that the two lines share a common archetype, however removed. Textual collation of MSS N1 and K2 indicates that K2 derives from N1.

V.B.a. *Nuruosmaniye 4894 (N1)* [11th/17th c.]

This is the first copy of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt in this codex and falls between folios 92v-120v. The folios are in some disorder. The correct order is: 92v, 83r-90v, 82r-v, 93r-119v.

V.B.b. *Köprülü 869 (K2)*

This second copy of Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt in this codex is found between folios 232v-273v.

F; 202.ult. يستمر B : لا يجوز F.

¹⁸¹ This manuscript was originally part of the Hafiz Efendi collection, with the shelf number 7938.

¹⁸² Bīdārfar, pp. 142-3, does not indicate that this passage was added in the margin of MS B by a later hand; MSS D1 and Ğ have the passage, but they were copied after the marginal additions were made to MS B.

V.C. *Extracts of the Later Recension: Miškāt 1037 (M) [1171/1757-8]*

Dānišpažūh discusses this manuscript in two places in his catalogue of the Miškāt collection (3:1, pp. 158, 340).¹⁸³ The first reference provides a physical description of the manuscript, along with mention of some of the works it contains (all by Ibn Sīnā); there Dānišpažūh also notes the colophon date of Rabīʿ al-Āḥir 1171/December 1757-January 1758. The second reference contains a detailed discussion of the Mubāḥaṭāt in general, but begins with reference to Miškāt 1037. Bīdārfar (introduction, pp. 28-9), who does not note the fact that this manuscript is part of the Miškāt collection, simply states that the version of the Mubāḥaṭāt found in Miškāt 1037, ff. 172v-205v,¹⁸⁴ begins with MVIa1-2, but also has material from MIV[b] and MV.

This collection of extracts is preceded by the following statement: “These are parts of the treatise entitled al-Mubāḥaṭāt by Ibn Sīnā in response to questions put to him by his student the philosopher Bahmanyār ibn Marzubān” (*Hādihī nubaḍ min ar-risāla al-musammāt bi-l-Mubāḥaṭāt li-...Ibn Sīnā fī ḡawāb masāʾil saʾala ʿanhu tilmīḍuhū al-ḥakīm Baḥmanyār ibn Marzubān*). The colophon states: “so concludes al-Mubāḥaṭāt, which are questions asked of Ibn Sīnā, some by his student Bahmanyār, some by aš-Šayḥ al-Kirmānī, and some by others.” There are occasional numbers in the margins of M written in pencil; these numbers coincide with Badawī’s edition of the Ṣignāhī Codex Recension and were probably added by Dānišpažūh who lists these numbers in his catalogue (op. cit., pp. 341-2). The contents and order of M are much more complicated than Bīdārfar’s description allows. They are as follows.

MVIa1

MVIa2: 400-460, 475-479, 487-493 (plus marginal notes)

MVIb2: 502-3, 514-522, 525-527, 530-534, 545-550, 553-4, 557-8

MVIc: 589-610, 612 (final line), 617-626, 639, 641-2, 692-695, 699, 700part, 701part, 713-715, 742, 781-3, 788, 791-3, 795-6

MVIe

MVIf: 844-872, 875, 881-5, 887-901

MVa: 254, 258, 262-4

MVb: 267-270

MVc1: 312, 322

MIVb: 142-149

MVc2: 353-5

MVIa2: (marginal note in the text), 490-2

¹⁸³ See also the brief description by J. Michot in his “L’èpître,” p. 152.

¹⁸⁴ Note that, in the manuscript itself, the foliation runs backward, so that Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt begins on the leaf numbered 205(v).

MIVb: 156-178, 184-198, 203-9

The presence of the marginal reader notes in M suggests a relation with the First Line of Descent of the Later Recension. Curiously, the passages to which these notes are attached in the other exemplars of the Later Recension are repeated in MS M (MVIa2:487-493, and MVIa2:490-2). The two copies of these passages in MS M do not derive from the same archetype, as the scribe has listed the textual variants of the first set in the margin next to the second set. It is possible that MS M is related to MS F. The folios of the latter exemplar are in some disorder, and this might account for the peculiar order of MS M. The two exemplars also share a variant against the other comparable manuscripts (Bīdārfar, p. 200.17. *zāla* B : *dūna* N1, K2 : *zawāl* F, M). However, MS M contains more material than MS F, so the scribe of MS M must have used another exemplar in addition to MS F; this would also account for the duplicate material in MS M.

VI. UNEXAMINED AND LOST MANUSCRIPTS

VI.A. *Unexamined Manuscripts*

VI.A.a. *Navvāb 45 Hikma* [10th/16th c.]

There is a brief description of this manuscript in *Fihrist-i nushah-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi dū kitabhānah-yi Mašhad*.¹⁸⁵ The incipit provided there suggests that this manuscript belongs with the Earlier Recensions, since it begins with MIVb like the others. This is confirmed by an earlier description of the MS by Dānišpažūh¹⁸⁶ in which he states that it begins like the “ten folios in Ayasofya 2389/2.” But Dānišpažūh also states that it contains the “two letters at the end of Badawī’s edition,” i.e., MI and MII. This is difficult to reconcile with his basic description, since we know that MS Ayasofya 2389 (MS I) does not contain these letters.¹⁸⁷ Dānišpažūh may have been making a comparison between MS Navvāb 45 and MS I simply because, of those manuscripts known to him, MS I most closely resembled Navvāb 45. However, it would seem that MS Navvāb 45 actually contains more material than MS I. At the very least we can note that it must be a representative of the Earlier Recensions, although which one it is impossible to say.¹⁸⁸ It is dated to the early 10th/16th century. Bīdārfar (p. 29) also provides a brief reference to it.

¹⁸⁵ K. M. Šānah’chi et al., p. 512.

¹⁸⁶ Miškāt catalogue, 3:1, p. 340.

¹⁸⁷ See the discussion above, Section II.B.a.

¹⁸⁸ Dānišpažūh also notes, op. cit., that MS Navvāb 45 bears the title *Risālat al-asʿila wa-l-ağwiba*.

VI.A.b. *Kitābhānah-yi Madrasah-yi Marvī maǧmūʿa 19 [=40 or 875?]*
[703/1303-4]

Qāsim Ġanī appears to be the first scholar to list this manuscript, in his *Ibn Sīnā*, first published in 1315Š/1936 (pp. 78-9), where he provided the shelf number “40.” Dānišpažūh later made reference to Ġanī in his catalogue of the Miškāt collection (3:1, p. 340); but he must also have had additional information on the Madrasa’s collection, since he lists a manuscript there with the shelf number 875 and questions whether this manuscript is the same as Ġanī’s “40.” Dānišpažūh’s reference was then taken up by Mahdavī in his catalogue of Ibn Sīnā’s works where he lists “Khan 875” (p. 211).¹⁸⁹ Riḍā Ustādī, in his *Fihrist* of the Madrasa’s collection, lists only the title al-Mubāḥaṭāt as part of *maǧmūʿa 19*, dated 703/1303-4.¹⁹⁰

VI.A.c. *Kitābhānah-yi Āqā-yi Šadr ad-Dīn Maḥallātī (Šīrāz), Maǧmūʿa 17*
M.T. Dānišpažūh makes brief mention that “part of the Mubāḥaṭāt” is found in this codex, which is dated 1056/1646-7.¹⁹¹ No additional information is provided. Other works in the codex include smaller treatises by Ibn Sīnā, Ibn Kammūna, Kindī, and Našīr ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī.

VI.B. *Lost Manuscripts*

It is possible that the following manuscripts are not in fact lost. Since both were originally part of private collections, they may have been sold or absorbed by public libraries. However, I have been unable to locate any additional references to them in the literature.

VI.B.a. *Maǧmūʿat Mirzā Faḍl Allāh*

A handlist of the private collection of Mirzā Faḍl Allāh of Zanġān, Irān, was assembled as part of a two-part article by Abū ʿAbd Allāh az-Zanġānī on the libraries of Zanġān which appeared in the serial *Luġat al-ʿArab* in 1927-8.¹⁹² In this handlist we find a *maǧmūʿa* which contains a copy of the Mubāḥaṭāt. Badawī noted the existence of this copy in the introduction to his edition of the Mubāḥaṭāt, basing his information on the article by az-Zanġānī.¹⁹³ No additional information concerning the contents of this copy is available and it has proved impossible to determine the present

¹⁸⁹ In his list of abbreviations, p. *kāʿ*, Mahdavī indicates that “Khan” refers to Kitābhānah-yi Madrasah-yi Ḥān-i Marvī.

¹⁹⁰ *Fihrist-i nuṣṣah-hā*, p. 272. I thank Īraġ Afšār for this reference.

¹⁹¹ “Fihrist-i Kitābhānah-hā-yi ʿumūmī va ḥuṣūṣī-yi Šīrāz,” p. 273.

¹⁹² The information on the *maǧmūʿa* that contains the Mubāḥaṭāt is found in *Luġat al-ʿArab* 6.2 (1928), p. 94.

¹⁹³ *Aristū ʿinda l-ʿarab*, p. 35.

location of Mirzā Faḍl Allāh's collection.¹⁹⁴ It may be useful to repeat the list made by az-Zanḡānī of the works in the *maḡmū'a* in the hope that one day the manuscript may resurface and be identified: Fārābī, *Iḥṣā' al-ʿulūm*; Fārābī, *Maqāla fī qawānīn šināʿat aš-šiʿr*; Fārābī, *Maqāla fī l-ḡiha allatī yašihhu ʿalayhā al-qawl fī aḥkām an-nuḡūm*; Fārābī, *Muḥtaṣar Anūlūtīqī at-tāniya*; al-Astarābādī, *Dānišnāmah-yi ʿAlāʾī* [sic!]; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Mubāḥaṭāt*; Ibn Sīnā, *at-Taʿlīqāt*; ʿAyn al-Qudāt al-Hamaḍānī, *Zubdat al-Ḥaqāʾiq*.

VI.B.b. *Maḡmūʿat Muḥammad Riḍā aš-Šabībī* [718/1318]

In a paper read at the Millenary Conference on Avicenna in Tehran in 1955 and published in the following year, aš-Šabībī described a codex of Ibn Sīnā works in his own collection.¹⁹⁵ He tells us that the codex was copied by ʿAbd Allāh ar-Rūmī in 718/1318 and was at one time a *waqf* in the Mašhad ʿAlī Madrasa (p. 140). While his assessment of the “Interrupted Version” of the Earlier Recension in this codex was unnecessarily confused as a result of his reliance on Ülken's identification of this part of the Mubāḥaṭāt as the Ibn Sīnā—Bīrūnī correspondence spuriously entitled “Sixteen Questions,” he has described enough of the codex to allow us to tentatively relate it to MS Nuruosmaniye 4894. Of the works that aš-Šabībī lists as part of the codex, viz. the “Interrupted Version” of the Mubāḥaṭāt (which aš-Šabībī believed to be the Ibn Sīnā—Bīrūnī correspondence), *Risāla fī l-ʿiṣq* (or *Mahīyat al-ʿiṣq*), the Mubāḥaṭāt, and the *Taʿlīqāt*, all are found also in Nuruosmaniye 4894.¹⁹⁶ It is possible to extract from aš-Šabībī's reference to MIII (pp. 144-148) the assumption that there are two versions of the Mubāḥaṭāt in the codex, since the Interrupted Version does not contain this letter in any of the other known exemplars. Now, in the known codices that contain the “Interrupted Version” of the Earlier Recension and another version of the Mubāḥaṭāt, the second version of the Mubāḥaṭāt is the Later Recension (MSS N, K, and D). It is likely, then, that aš-Šabībī's codex also contains the Later Recension in addition to the “Interrupted Version” of one of the Earlier Recensions. Thus, the Šabībī codex is most likely related to MS N because both contain the “Interrupted Version” and probably the Later Recension, as well as the *Risāla fī l-ʿiṣq* and the *Taʿlīqāt*. The Šabībī codex was copied much earlier than MS N and so it is unfortunate that it appears to be lost; it may have answered the question of the relation of MSS N and K.

¹⁹⁴ Badawī, op. cit., p. 36, was unable to trace the manuscript. He suggested that it may have been donated to one of the larger libraries in Iran, but a check of the relatively thorough list of Iranian libraries, which regularly records the names of donors, by Hadi Sharifi in *World Survey*, I:457-551, did not yield any clues in this regard.

¹⁹⁵ “Turātunā al-falsafī, ḥāḡatuhū ilā n-naqd wa-t-tamḥiṣ,” pp. 116-169.

¹⁹⁶ The two other codices that warrant comparison, Köprülü 869 and Miškāt 1149, lack the *Risāla fī l-ʿiṣq* and the *Taʿlīqāt*, respectively.

VII. A NOTE ON THE SEPARATIVE VARIANT BETWEEN THE EARLIER AND LATER RECENSIONS

No analysis of the stemma of the manuscripts of the Mubāḥaṭāt has been undertaken to date. This is perhaps to be expected, considering the sheer number of the extant exemplars and the very difficult interpretations that result from a collation of the major representatives. However, the fact that neither Badawī nor Bīdārfar attempted such an analysis prior to publishing their versions of the Mubāḥaṭāt has resulted not only in a checkered publishing record for the Mubāḥaṭāt, but also a fundamental set of errors in the editorial decisions made by both scholars. The Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension edited by Badawī is certainly not representative of the Mubāḥaṭāt; rather it is a jumble of edited and unedited material that was never completed in its medieval version. Bīdārfar's edition of the Later Recension unquestionably has improved our knowledge of the Mubāḥaṭāt, but his editorial work has resulted in a modern version of the Later Recension that is seriously contaminated by the Earlier Recension. This publishing record in turn has produced a certain amount of confusion in how scholars of Ibn Sīnā's philosophy view the Mubāḥaṭāt, with the concomitant lack of serious secondary study of this very important set of texts.

The analyses of the codicological characteristics and structures of the extant manuscripts which underlie the above order of discussion allow us to make general distinctions among the extant manuscripts. It is clear that we have an Earlier Recension that ultimately goes back to Bahmanyār's initial efforts to organize the correspondence. It is also clear that the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension represents a unique editing process of the Mubāḥaṭāt texts. It should also be clear that the very different structural sequence of the texts in the Later Recension is the underlying reason for distinguishing it from the Earlier Recensions.

The first stage in establishing a stemma is distinguishing categories of exemplars on the basis of their differences. This should be followed by precise collation of the different sets of manuscripts to determine their relations, which ideally leads to a theory of the dependencies observable in the exemplars. In addition to the observations concerning the differing structures and contents of the extant manuscripts of the Mubāḥaṭāt made above, a substantial separative variant is observed in the exemplars which confirms the distinction between the Earlier and Later Recensions made on the basis of their structures. It also provides us with some additional evidence for relating the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension to the Earlier Recensions.

This separative variant is to be found within the question and answer ascribed to Ibn Zayla and Ibn Sīnā, for which we fortunately possess the original version (see Section I.A.f.1, MS G). This letter was incorporated

into the Recensions of the Mubāḥaṭāt. The question and answer can be found in Bīdārfar 568-578, and in Badawī 484. The separative variant encompasses the text in Bīdārfar, page 191, lines 13-17. The following table does not account for minor scribal errors in the various MSS.

Table 2: Separative Variant in the Two Major Groups of Recensions	
MSS A, C, E, G, L1, Y	...بل علماً بهما كذلك ليست حكمة عملية الحكمة العملية الخلقية بل علماً بها وتعريفاً إياها وليست علماً بها وحدها بل علماً بها وبغيرها مما ليس حكمة عملية خلقية فالغلط واقع بسبب ظنّ الظانّ أنّ الحكمة العملية...
MSS B, N1, K2, F	...بل علماً بها وبغيرها مما ليس حكمة عملية خلقية والغلط واقع بسبب ظنّ الظانّ أنّ لذلك ليست حكمة عملية الحكمة العملية الخلقية بل علماً بها وتعريفاً إياها وليست علماً بها وحدها الحكمة العملية...

The original version of the letter (MS G) exhibits the correct reading, and is followed by all of the Earlier Recensions, as well as the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension. The reading in the exemplars of the Later Recension is incorrect. The most likely explanation for this incorrect reading is that one of the ancestors of the extant manuscripts of the Later Recension exhibited an omission due to homoioteleuton which was corrected in a descendant by means of a marginal note and this marginal note was subsequently incorporated into the text in the wrong place. This process must have occurred before 634/1237, the copy date of the earliest extant exemplar of the Later Recension (MS B).

VIII. A Provisional Stemma Codicum of the Major Exemplars

The examination of the major exemplars of the Mubāḥaṭāt in both the Earlier and Later Recensions as well as the intermediate stage of deconstruction represented by MS C and its descendants allows us to reconstruct in a way consonant with the present state of research the following stemma codicum. This exercise does not take into account the independently transmitted Mubāḥaṭāt and Accretional Mubāḥaṭāt materials.

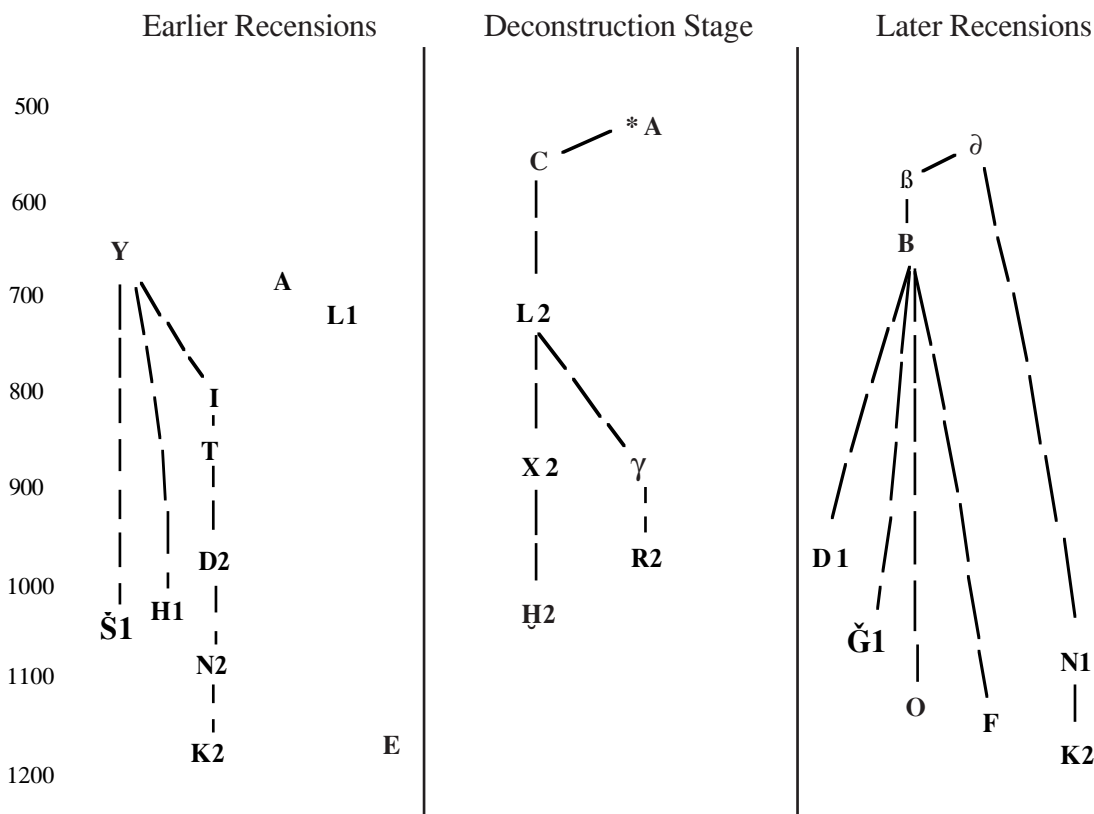


Figure 2: Provisional Stemma Codicum of the Major Exemplars

* Denotes recension not manuscript exemplar

CHAPTER TWO

THE RECENSION PROCESS OF THE MUBĀḤATĀT

I. INTRODUCTION

While the primary aim of the preceding chapter was to set forth the paleographical and codicological information of the surviving exemplars of the Mubāḥatāt texts in as detailed a manner as present manuscript research allows, that information was nonetheless organized on the basis of an implicit theory of the recension processes to which the Mubāḥatāt materials were subject. That theory is in part based upon judgments made about the contents and structures of the various surviving exemplars of materials. For instance, while the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension is probably the earliest surviving exemplar of the materials, the fact that its contents underwent an uncompleted revision, which can be adequately described through comparison with later exemplars, suggests that it was based upon a still earlier recension.

Also, implicit in the nomenclature “Earlier” and “Later” recensions is a judgment concerning the sequence of the recension process. The Later Recension appears *structurally* more logical than the Earlier Recensions, if we work with criteria developed on the basis of the genre of materials (self-contained letters, followed by discrete responsa and dicta organized in sections). But given the fact that one of the Earlier Recensions probably originated with an editorial intention undertaken by Bahmanyār (i.e., MS E), one of the actual participants in the correspondence, the seeming disorder of the Earlier Recensions can be explained by a theory concerning the historical order of composition of the materials. However, when our investigation focuses on the Mubāḥatāt materials as a *book* in Ibn Sīnā’s corpus of writings, things become a good deal more complicated.

Again, the dichotomy between, on the one hand, the texts that should properly be viewed as part of the actual correspondence and discussions between Ibn Sīnā and his students and colleagues and, on the other hand, the texts that would later collectively constitute what we now know as Kitāb al-Mubāḥatāt must occupy the foreground of our investigation. And the most convenient and indeed critical means at our disposal for approaching that dichotomy is to determine as precisely as possible the period in which the title Kitāb al-Mubāḥatāt appeared in the Ibn Sīnā bibliography. In this regard, one fact immediately presents itself: none of the participants involved

in composing the materials that would come to constitute Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt refers to those materials by that title.

Certainly, there are internal descriptions of the materials by Ibn Sīnā employing a variety of terms from the root *b.h.t*, and there is one definite citation of a work entitled Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt outside of the materials and purportedly made by Ibn Sīnā, but as we will see, neither of these pieces of evidence is conclusive. Of greater significance is Bahmanyār's reference to his philosophical discussions with Ibn Sīnā in his *Kitāb at-Taḥṣīl* by the term "conversation" (*muḥāwara*), and this term is echoed in the anonymous characterization of one of Ibn Zayla's questions to Ibn Sīnā as arising in "conversations" (*muḥāwarāt*) with his master (see Chapter One, I.A.d).¹ Indeed, we find Ibn Sīnā himself using the same term to refer to his correspondence with Bahmanyār.² Later authors, with the exception of the anonymous scholars responsible for the bibliographies of Ibn Sīnā's works, present conflicting evidence. As we will see, al-Bayhaqī knew a work with the title al-Mabāḥiṭ, which merits comparison with the colophon of L2 (see Chapter One, Part Two, IV.A). Ar-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) definitely knew of a work entitled Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt,³ but aṭ-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1273), who actually commented on one of the Letters, apparently was not aware of any title for the correspondence, nor even that the Letter he commented on was part of a collection of correspondence (see Chapter One, Part Two, I.B.a.1).⁴ Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1050/1641), writing at a great historical remove from Ibn Sīnā, could refer to both a Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt and a Kitāb al-Mabāḥiṭ.⁵

Based on the fact that none of the participants involved in the philosophical discussions actually refers to the texts by the title Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt, we must begin with the assumption that the entrance of the title Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt into the Ibn Sīnā corpus represents the start of, or a stage in, the recension processes undertaken by non-participants in the correspondence and discussions. To determine a proximate date for the appearance of the title, we will examine the manuscript evidence (Section II), the external near contemporary evidence (Sections III, and IV.A), and the internal evidence (Section IV.B) to determine the trajectory of those recension processes.

¹ Bahmanyār's description is found in *Kitāb at-Taḥṣīl*, p. 3.7.

² See the translation of MIII:49 in Chapter Four, C.a.1.

³ See his *al-Mabāḥiṭ al-mašriqīya*, 1:342-3, 386-7, 460ff., 2:261-2, 268-9, 352-359, 404.

⁴ See also his comment in his *ṣarḥ* of the *Iṣārāt*, ed. S. Dunyā, 1957, p. 330, where he notes that Bahmanyār wrote to Ibn Sīnā without specifying that the letter was part of a Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt.

⁵ See *Aṣfār*, 6:73, 105-6.

II. EVIDENCE FROM THE MANUSCRIPTS

II. A. *The Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension and the Earlier Recensions*

The earliest extant exemplar of Mubāḥatāt materials bearing the title Kitāb al-Mubāḥatāt is that found in aṣ-Ṣignāḥī's codex.⁶ Because al-Bayhaqī's (d. 565/1165) biography of aṣ-Ṣignāḥī in his *Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma* indicates that the two scholars were contemporaries, we can plausibly suggest that aṣ-Ṣignāḥī's scribal activity took place roughly between 500/1106 and 553/1158-9, the date al-Bayhaqī is said to have completed his *Tatimma*. As we have seen, aṣ-Ṣignāḥī's codex contains a recension of Mubāḥatāt materials that evinces a radical editorial process as well as the inclusion of non-Mubāḥatāt materials (among others, Ibn Sīnā's *al-ʿAhd* and his *Letter to Ibn Ḥassūl*; see Chapter One, Part Two, III) which other recensions do not contain. But portions of this recension also bear similarities to the contents of L2 and, more importantly, it shares a very important textual variant with the Earlier Recensions against the Later Recension. And three of the four Earlier Recensions bear the title Kitāb al-Mubāḥatāt (Y, A, L1). The Earlier Recensions cannot derive from the edited recension in aṣ-Ṣignāḥī's codex because they contain the materials that were subject to the editing in that recension. The Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension cannot have been created from the Later Recension because of the textual variant the former shares with the Earlier Recensions.⁷ Two remaining hypotheses might account for the similarity in content and textual variation between the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension and the Earlier Recensions: either the recensor who produced the edited recension in the Ṣignāḥī codex and the recensor responsible for one of the Earlier Recensions independently of one another produced a collection from fascicles of materials and coincidentally entitled their work Kitāb al-Mubāḥatāt, or the edited recension in the Ṣignāḥī codex was in part constructed from one of the Earlier Recensions. The first hypothesis can clearly be discounted. But the second hypothesis should be subject to some qualification. While the recension in the Ṣignāḥī codex shares most of its material with the Earlier Recension inclusively conceived,⁸ there are additional materials in

⁶ Cairo, Ḥikma 6M (Chapter One, Part Two, III). The title in the contents list of the codex appears to be in a later hand, but the title Kitāb al-Mubāḥatāt introducing the text itself on 68r is in aṣ-Ṣignāḥī's hand.

⁷ This possibility would require us to believe that the editor of the Ṣignāḥī recension (or aṣ-Ṣignāḥī himself in copying that recension) and the scribe of one of the Earlier Recensions independently arrived at the same textual variant, since the Earlier Recensions cannot derive from the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension nor from the Later Recension. However, consideration of this possibility need not even arise for the simple reason that the Earlier Recensions and the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension have the *correct* reading while the error in the Later Recension is the result of a misplaced marginal addition.

⁸ The inclusive conception of Earlier Recensions allows us to posit possible candidates for

the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension common only to the collection referred to as L2, and other materials that fall outside the Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt complex as a whole (Ibn Sīnā's *al-ʿAhd*, his Letter to Ibn Ḥassūl, the so-called *Budūr*, etc.). Because of the extreme disorder of the materials in the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension, it is impossible to determine whether the anonymous editor intended all of these materials to make up his new Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt, or whether he intended to divide the material into different works, or whether the additional materials that fall outside the Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt complex were incorrectly included by aṣ-Ṣignāḥī. In other words, either all of the materials that now constitute the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension could have been the pool of materials that the editor was using to construct his Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt, or the materials inherited by aṣ-Ṣignāḥī were in such disarray that extraneous materials were included when aṣ-Ṣignāḥī made his copy. At any rate, the salient point to be drawn from a comparison of the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension with the Earlier Recensions is that some one of the Earlier Recensions must have formed part of the materials used to construct the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension.

There is some evidence that might help identify which of the Earlier Recensions was used by the recensor of the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension. There are seven passages common to the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension and MS A, one of the Earlier Recensions. Of these seven passages, four are also shared by L2. The remaining three, however, are found only in the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension and the Earlier Recension in MS A. The three other Earlier Recensions do not contain these passages. These three passages are (according to Badawī's enumeration): 65, 260, 485. Textually, the passages in the two manuscripts agree completely.⁹ The order of the seven passages in MS A differs with that in the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension, but this is not a significant point of contrast because, as we have seen, the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension evinces a marked disorder in all passages in comparison with all other recensions. That the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension and MS A share these three passages against *all other recensions* is a very significant point of similarity. MS A is dated 694/1295-6 on the basis of an ownership note, and while it is unlikely that its apograph was the one used for the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension, it is reasonable to argue that one of its archetypes could have been. And because MS A bears the title Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt, it is likely that that

the apograph edited by the recensor of the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension from ancestors of the extant exemplars of the Earlier Recensions.

⁹ With regard to the four passages shared by the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension, MS A, and L2, the textual variants do not allow us to identify manuscript relationships. These variants are as follows (first the number of the passage in Badawī, then the variants with the manuscripts identified by sigla). 40. مقدم C, A : متقدم L2. بين C, A : يتبين L2. 41. الباب C, L2 : النبات A || النبات C || النبات A, L2 : فيها C, L2 : منها A || يحرك C, L2 : يتحرك A. 42. No variants. 62. No variants.

archetype did as well, and that that title is the immediate source of the title found in the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension. And finally, because it is unlikely that aṣ-Ṣignāḥī himself was responsible for the recension found in his codex,¹⁰ we might reasonably suggest that the title Kitāb al-Mubāḥatāt was in circulation prior to the scribal activity of aṣ-Ṣignāḥī, i.e., sometime around 500/1106 at the earliest. The very tentative identification of al-Lawkarī, aṣ-Ṣignāḥī's master, as the scholar responsible for the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension of Kitāb al-Mubāḥatāt accords with this interpretation. Al-Lawkarī's date of death has proved very difficult to determine precisely, but we do know that he was alive in 503/1109-10 when he compiled the table of contents for the *Ta'liqāt*.¹¹ The fact that the recension of Kitāb al-Mubāḥatāt in the Ṣignāḥī codex appears to be in great disarray may suggest that it was not completed by the time aṣ-Ṣignāḥī acquired it. On the basis of this characteristic, it could be argued that al-Lawkarī died before completing his editorial work sometime shortly after 503/1109-10. We might then reasonably argue that the Earlier Recension bearing the title Kitāb al-Mubāḥatāt that (perhaps) al-Lawkarī used for his recension was in circulation at least in the last decades of the 5th/11th century.

However, the Earlier Recension in MS A, which may have been used for the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension, probably represents the culmination of a period of collecting and adding to prior recensions. As we have seen, the four Earlier Recensions share a number of characteristics with one another against the Later Recension. The most prominent of these characteristics is the order of the first eight parts of their material (MIVb, MVa, MI, MVb, MII, MVc, MIII, MVia2), but the remaining material in all four displays differences in both content and organization. Since MS E bears evidence of descent from a collection in clean copy made by Bahmanyār, and since there appear to have existed disorganized groupings of material which, for instance, were drawn upon for the construction of separate fascicles of material as well as the L2 collection, it would be reasonable to argue that a core of materials structurally represented by MS E was enlarged by the incorporation of those additional materials to produce the other three Earlier Recensions. However, the precise sequence of this process is impossible to ascertain on the basis of the surviving exemplars. There is some indication that MSS E and Y are related, because of the misplaced marginal correction represented by Bīdārfar's paragraph numbers 518fr[agment]-519 in Table 4 below. The

¹⁰ See Chapter One, Part Two, Section III.

¹¹ Badawī reproduces the note from MS Ahmet III 3204 which states that al-Lawkarī composed the contents list in 503/1109-10 in his edition of *at-Ta'liqāt*, p. 9. Brockelmann gave al-Lawkarī's death date as 517/1123 (GAL I, 602) but no one has been able to ascertain Brockelmann's source for that date. See Gutas, "Avicenna's Library," p. 15, n. 16, and the detailed assessment of the problem by Sayyid Ibrāhīm Dībāḡī in the introduction to his edition of al-Lawkarī's *Bayān al-ḥaqq*, pp. 14-16.

colophon to L1 suggests that at least three apographs were used (*‘iddat an-nusah*) by its scribe, one of which must have contained the original marginal correction, since 518fr.-519 appears in L1’s margin, but also another apograph that had the correct sequence since, on the next folio, 517-519 are part of the text. That other apograph of L1 bears relation to MS A since the text in those manuscripts shows no sign of disruption from an omission which was later corrected with text from the margin (resulting in the misplaced passage 518fr.-519 in some copies). MSS L1 and A also share the inclusion of Letter MIVa against MSS E and Y. It can be observed that there is a steady accretion of material in the four Earlier Recensions (in the order E—Y—L1—A) with some re-arrangement from E to Y, but to make this the basis of an argument for an historical process of collection would be hazardous at the present stage of research. Arguments for a simultaneous process of collection by different recensors adding to the basic structure found in MS E could equally be made.

However, for the purposes of determining a general period in which the title *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt* appears, it can be argued that if an archetype of MS A or one resembling it did serve as the foundation for the *Ṣignāḥī* Codex Recension, it likely bore the title *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt*, which is the title found in MS A and in the *Ṣignāḥī* codex. It cannot be emphasized enough that the presence of the title in the *Ṣignāḥī* codex is the strongest and in fact the only piece of evidence from the manuscripts for determining the appearance of the title. But if the *Ṣignāḥī* Codex Recension took its title from a previous recension, the appearance of that title would seem to have been toward the end of the 5th/11th century or the beginning of the 6th/12th century. MSS Y and L1 also carry the title *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt* but these exemplars were copied in 677/1279 and sometime before 717/1317 respectively. Until the relation of MSS Y and L1 to MS A can be satisfactorily determined, the argument for an historical progression in the accretion of material in the Earlier Recensions cannot authoritatively serve to pre-date the recensions represented by MSS Y and L1.

II.B. *Bahmanyār’s “Taḥṣīlāt”*

The manuscript evidence cannot provide us with a detailed picture of the nature and sequence of the recension process during the last half of the 5th/11th century, but there is strong evidence that MS E, although dated quite late (c. 1182/1768-9), descends from Bahmanyār’s holograph collection of *Mubāḥaṭāt* materials. The evidence from this manuscript allows us to comment on what might be the earliest form and structure of the core of *Mubāḥaṭāt* materials. The marginal notations preserved by the scribe of MS E presented in the previous chapter (Chapter One, Part One, I.B.c) indicate

that one of the ancestors of the apograph of MS E was a collected copy made by Bahmanyār of his holograph questions and Ibn Sīnā's holograph responses. If the interpretation of this information is correct, MS E represents a collected version of core materials made by one of the actual participants in the philosophical correspondence and discussions. The textual evidence from MS E suggests that the copy used by the scribe was severely damaged: there were lacunae likely the result of physical damage to the copy, which the scribe indicated by leaving spaces in the lines of his text; and in at least one instance there seems to have been as much as one folio missing from the copy. Nonetheless, enough of the text is preserved to allow us to comment on the nature of Bahmanyār's recension. Its structure is clearly that of the Earlier Recensions. This structure may appear to be disordered, particularly in relation to the Later Recension, but it likely preserves the actual historical sequence of the philosophical correspondence. A comprehensive study of this sequence is made in Chapter Four.

An intriguing piece of evidence from MS E is the title the Mubāḥaṭāt materials are given in that codex. As noted in the previous chapter, the collection of Mubāḥaṭāt materials in MS E appears to descend from a clean copy made by Bahmanyār himself. In the list of works on f. 2v-3r of MS E, we find the title *Risālat Taḥṣīlāt Bahmanyār ʿarabīyatan*, and in the upper left corner of the page preceding the work in the manuscript (201r), we find *Taḥṣīlāt Bahmanyār*. There is another work by Bahmanyār that has survived under the similar title *Kitāb at-Taḥṣīl*,¹² and which is a compendium of philosophy written for Bahmanyār's uncle Abū Maṣṣūr Bahrām ibn Ḥūršīd ibn Yazdyār. In the introduction to this work Bahmanyār tells us that he has followed the structure of Ibn Sīnā's *Dānišnāmah-yi ʿAlāʾī* and included the majority of Ibn Sīnā's philosophical views expressed in his other major works, along with "whatever passed between us [i.e., Bahmanyār and Ibn Sīnā] in the course of conversation (*muḥāwara*)."¹³ Not surprisingly, much of the philosophical discussion in *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt* is echoed in *Kitāb at-Taḥṣīl*. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that Bahmanyār refers to those materials in his introduction to *Kitāb at-Taḥṣīl* by the term "conversation." If Bahmanyār, with or without Ibn Sīnā's participation, had produced a collection of texts entitled *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt*, we might expect him to have referred to that collection by that title in his introduction to the *Kitāb at-Taḥṣīl*. He certainly is not loath to cite the sources he drew upon in composing the *Kitāb at-Taḥṣīl* he dedicated to his uncle; he regularly refers to parallel passages in the *Šifāʾ* in *Kitāb at-Taḥṣīl*, and indeed in his introduction he explicitly lists the works of Ibn Sīnā he has drawn upon. The fact that MS E does appear to descend from a clean copy of Mubāḥaṭāt materials

¹² Edited by Šahīd Murtaḍā Muṭahharī under the title *at-Taḥṣīl*.

¹³ Op. cit., p. 1.

made by Bahmanyār certainly allows us to date that early collection to sometime before Bahmanyār's death in 458/1066-7.¹⁴ We have no precise date of composition for *Kitāb at-Taḥṣīl* that Bahmanyār dedicated to his uncle, but the fact that Mubāḥaṭāt materials were drawn upon in the *Kitāb at-Taḥṣīl* allows us to date *Kitāb at-Taḥṣīl* to a period after the conclusion of Bahmanyār's philosophical correspondence with Ibn Sīnā, scil. after the latter's death in 428/1037. The termini for the *Kitāb at-Taḥṣīl* would thus be 428/1037 and 458/1066-7.¹⁵ The early collection of Mubāḥaṭāt materials found in MS E and entitled *Taḥṣīlāt Bahmanyār* must have been completed before *Kitāb at-Taḥṣīl* was composed since it is included in the latter work.

This, however, does not solve the problem concerning the title *Taḥṣīlāt Bahmanyār* for Bahmanyār's early collection of Mubāḥaṭāt materials found in MS E. It would be reasonable to suppose that the scribe of MS E simply erred in giving the Mubāḥaṭāt materials the title *Taḥṣīlāt* by confusing them with the other work *Kitāb at-Taḥṣīl*. But two facts argue against this possibility. The first is the very difference in the two titles *Taḥṣīlāt Bahmanyār* and *Kitāb at-Taḥṣīl*. Despite the misapprehension of modern cataloguers that the two titles *Taḥṣīlāt* and *Taḥṣīl* are variants for one work, i.e., Bahmanyār's compendium written for his uncle, none of the manuscripts of that compendium accessible for this study bear the title *Taḥṣīlāt*.¹⁶ The error is an understandable one, but the difference in the two titles should not be underestimated: they apply to two different works.

The second fact is the very important place the technical term *taḥṣīl* occupies in Ibn Sīnā's epistemology. The Graeco-Arabic citations collected by Monk, Landauer, and Kutsch establish that the term *taḥṣīl* was used to translate the Greek *horizō*, "to determine a thing."¹⁷ Gutas has noted the expansion of this basic meaning in Ibn Sīnā's thought to encompass the process of "determining the validity [of philosophical knowledge, theories,

¹⁴ This death date is based on al-Bayhaqī's statement, *Tatimma*, p. 92, that Bahmanyār died "in the months of 458, thirty years after Ibn Sīnā." Brockelmann, GAL I, 458, S I, 828 has given the death date of 430 without a verifiable reference for this information; Badawī followed Brockelmann in his introduction to *Aristū 'inda l-ʿarab*, p. 37, n. 1. Gutas, "Avicenna's Library," p. 9, appears to be the only modern scholar to review the contradictions involved in accepting this unverified date.

¹⁵ There is no evidence that Bahmanyār composed *at-Taḥṣīl* "between 415/1024 and 428/1037," as Daiber has stated in his article "Bahmanyār," EI², 2:501. Daiber does not provide a reference for these termini. Did he determine them on the basis of the unverifiable proposition, loc. cit., that Bahmanyār studied with Ibn Sīnā in Iṣfahān between those same dates?

¹⁶ The concatenation of the two titles appears to have originated with Brockelmann's GAL (I, 458, S I, 828), a fact noted by ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Ḥāʾirī in his *Fihrist-i Kitābhānah-yi Maḡlis-i Šūrā-yi Millī*, 5:59, n. 1. The earliest external source for the title *Kitāb at-Taḥṣīl* is al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimma* (ed. Šāfiʿ, 91), a work completed before 553/1158-9 (see the discussion below).

¹⁷ See the references to these authors in Gutas, *Avicenna*, p. 86, n. 1.

or ideas].”¹⁸ In Ibn Sīnā’s theory, the term *taḥṣīl*, with its synonyms *taḥqīq* and *tahaqquq*, are to be contrasted with *taqlīd*, study without investigating causes, or simple acceptance of another’s authority.¹⁹ The process of *taḥṣīl*, then, is the acquisition of knowledge through detailed logical analysis and demonstration and not through blind acceptance of an authority.²⁰ Bahmanyār’s questions to Ibn Sīnā in the Mubāḥatāt materials can be seen to represent this process of validation in his recurrent requests for demonstrative proof from Ibn Sīnā for an unsubstantiated theory, or his charges that what Ibn Sīnā presents as demonstrative proof is deficient.²¹ Viewed in this light, then, Bahmanyār’s questions can be understood as his process of determining the validity of the philosophical views Ibn Sīnā presents in the *Šifāʾ* and other works. His choice of the title *Taḥṣīlāt*, or “Validations,” for this collection of questions and responses is thus appropriate.²²

¹⁸ I take this definition from Gutas’s translation of the passive participle *muḥaṣṣal*, op. cit., p. 97, but see his translations of *taḥṣīl* as “Validation,” “Determination of Validity,” p. 188, and his translation of the active participle *al-muḥaṣṣil* as “a philosopher who has ascertained, verified, and Determined the Validity of facts for himself,” p. 86, n. 1.

¹⁹ See Gutas, op. cit., pp. 191-2; for a detailed study of the term *taqlīd*, see R. M. Frank, “Al-Ghazālī on *Taqlīd*.”

²⁰ Gutas, op. cit., p. 188.

²¹ A very nice combination in the Mubāḥatāt of the idea of verification (*taḥqīq*) along with a call for demonstrative proof is the question at 150: “Assuming that what brings the intellect from potency to actuality is an intellect, as has been verified by us (*tahaqquqa ʿindanā*), then what is the demonstrative proof (*burhān*) that [the human intellect] connects with it after separation [from the body]?” Other calls for proof from Ibn Sīnā include 175: “What does he mean in *Kitāb an-Nafs* when he says ‘the faculties exist inasmuch as they act.’ And what is the demonstrative proof of that...?”; 177: “What is the demonstrative proof that the source of a thing’s actions is its existence and subsistence?”; 200: “What is the proof that the Active Intellects are not bodies? For the proof [in *Kitāb an-Nafs*] demonstrates only that something which is affected by intelligibles and in which intelligibles inhere is not a body. But as for the thing which produces intelligibles not being a body, this still remains unclarified to me through proof”; 204: “The proof stated in *Kitāb an-Nafs*, that the intellecting faculty does not perceive by means of a corporeal instrument does not provide [the answer], for it still is not clear to us by means of this proof that the active intellects are neither bodies nor possessed of bodies”; 208: “Is there a proof for the fact that every individual of a species has something constant, one in number and individual? For what was said [in *Kitāb an-Nafs*] applies only to man who is conscious of his self.” These examples could be multiplied at will.

²² It has been suggested that the title *at-Taḥṣīl* might appropriately be understood to mean *The Digest*, considering the description of the compendium Bahmanyār provides in his introduction; see Gutas, *Avicenna*, p. 96 n. 9. In fact, this aspect of Bahmanyār’s work represents only part of his aims as stated in the introduction: “In this treatise, I determine the validity (*muḥaṣṣil*) of the choicest parts of the philosophy that Ibn Sīnā refined, replicating the order of *al-Ḥikma al-ʿAlāʾīya* and, in comprehension of ideas, the majority of his works, as well as whatever passed between us in the course of conversation (*muḥāwara*). I have added to it whatever I have validated (*ḥaṣṣaltu*) through investigation of the derived principles, which follow the same course as the fundamental principles” (*At-Taḥṣīl*, p. 1). Bahmanyār’s emphasis would appear to be focused not just on presenting the highlights of Ibn Sīnā’s philosophy, which would constitute a digest, but also on his role as Validator of that knowledge gained by him through reading his master’s works and engaging in conversation with him. Bahmanyār’s understanding of *taḥṣīl* would appear to coincide

As a result of this observation, it is worth suggesting that Bahmanyār used the term *Taḥṣīlāt* as the title for his collection of Mubāḥaṭāt materials, and the title *Kitāb at-Taḥṣīl* for his later compendium of philosophy which drew, in part, on the *Taḥṣīlāt*.

Another interesting characteristic of Bahmanyār's *Taḥṣīlāt* found in MS E is that it lacks much of the material that would later appear in the other Earlier Recensions and subsequently in the Later Recension, although this is the case for only those parts of the material referred to here as MVIa1, MVIb1 and MVID-f. Even discounting the later inclusion of materials that properly do not belong to the philosophical correspondence, the repeat passages that represent stages of editing, and the damage to which the apograph of MS E was subject, there are a large number of questions and responses that were not included in Bahmanyār's recension. There are at least four possible explanations for this deficiency.

1. The questions and responses not found in Bahmanyār's recension of Mubāḥaṭāt materials were undertaken by another student, scil. Ibn Zayla, and Ibn Sīnā.
2. Bahmanyār undertook his recension prior to the conclusion of his philosophical correspondence with Ibn Sīnā. According to this possibility, the material absent from Bahmanyār's collection had not yet been composed.

with that of his master. Al-Bayhaqī's reports of the education of medieval Muslim philosophers in his *Tatimma* are replete with the use of the verb *ḥaṣṣala* and its verbal noun *taḥṣīl*. A very good example in the *Tatimma* that emphasizes the independent nature of the process of validation is his description of 'Alī ibn Šāhak al-Qaṣṣārī's self-education (ed. Šafīʿ, p. 171): "...then he memorized the fundamental and derived principles of *adab* and became highly proficient at validating grammatical [rules] and their causes. Next he memorized a great many exhortatory prayers (*adʿiya*) and historical reports. Next he turned his attention to validating philosophy, with neither guide nor teacher; he used to have someone read him a section on Logic while he memorized it and repeated it and reflected on it until he alighted upon its real meanings. Thus did he validate Logic, Natural Sciences, and Metaphysics. Then he turned his attention to validating the mathematical sciences, etc...." However, the basic meaning of *taḥṣīl* as "acquiring, obtaining" should not be underestimated in the discussion. In an anecdote al-Bayhaqī appends to his re-working of Avicenna's Biography, he says (idem, p. 60) "...then he [Ibn Sīnā] went to the market to get food (*li-taḥṣīli l-qūt*)," and this basic meaning appears to extend to the technical sense, at least in al-Bayhaqī's lexicon. In reporting on Mattā ibn Yūnus's division of happiness into three aspects of life (the soul, the body, and external works, *al-ḥārīḡiya*), al-Bayhaqī reports the statement (idem, p. 15) that "external happiness is the proper obtainment (*iktisāb*) and acquisition (*taḥṣīl*) of things of the world." [Incidentally, Mattā ibn Yūnus's opinion is found in Philo, *Questions and Answers on Genesis* (3.16), referred to by E. Bréhier in *Les Idées philosophiques et religieuses de Philon d'Alexandrie*, Paris, 1925, p. 161 *apud* Leo J. Elders, "The Greek Christian Authors and Aristotle," in *Aristotle in Late Antiquity*, edited by Lawrence P. Schrenk, Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1994, 113.] Consider also the sense of the verb in Ġazālī's *Ayyuhā al-walad*, p. 97.3-4: "...to gain worldly goods, to attract worldly vanities, to acquire worldly positions [of employment]" (*nayl ʿaraḍi d-dunyā wa-ḡadb ḥuṭāmihā wa-taḥṣīl manāṣibihā*). Bahmanyār's title may thus also be understood as the plural substantive "[philosophical] acquisitions."

3. Bahmanyār did not have access to all of the materials of his discussions with Ibn Sīnā, not because they had yet to be composed, but because some remained in Ibn Sīnā's possession.
4. Bahmanyār had access to all materials related to the discussions but included only some in his recension,
 - a. either for reasons having to do with their content,
 - b. or because he abandoned the project.²³

The first possibility might appear likely, but there is evidence, based on a comparison of all the materials, which suggests that a small part of Ibn Zayla's own discussions with Ibn Sīnā were incorporated into Bahmanyār's recension. In each case in which a question can be attributed to Ibn Zayla but is not explicitly so attributed in one recension, there is evidence from another recension or version of the question that does so explicitly identify Ibn Zayla as the questioner. And these attributions allow us to state with certainty that there *are* questions and responses in Bahmanyār's recension that originate with Ibn Zayla. For instance, the question and response found at 568-578 is not attributed to Ibn Zayla in any of the recensions of the *Kitāb al-Mubāḥatāt*, including Bahmanyār's recension (*Taḥṣīlāt*), but the original letter from Ibn Sīnā to Ibn Zayla is preserved in MS J with the correct attribution.²⁴ This is also the case for Ibn Zayla's *talḥīṣ* (820-842) and accompanying questions (825-828), the original of which is found in MS Ṣ2.²⁵ And in fact we rely on Bahmanyār's attribution to Ibn Zayla for the question found at Bīdārfar 591. None of the other omitted materials in Bahmanyār's recension can be independently attributed to Ibn Zayla through recourse to another recension; and Bahmanyār appears reliable in his attributions of questions to others. So it is unlikely that this possibility would account for all, or indeed any, of the materials missing from Bahmanyār's recension.

²³ A fifth possibility can be discounted. While MS E displays damage attributable to one of its archetypes, this damage cannot account for the loss of so much material not found in MS E. Even a major loss of material would not account for the very different order of the materials of MVIa2 and MVIb2 in MS E in comparison with other Earlier Recensions and with the Later Recension. See Table 4 below.

²⁴ For MS J, see Chapter One, I.A.h, and Chapter Three, "Ibn Sīnā's Letter to Ibn Zayla," for a translation of the introduction of the letter, and Appendix D for the Arabic text. We can be relatively certain that the attribution of the question to Ibn Zayla in MS J is correct, for it alone of all the versions in circulation preserves the introduction of the letter which explicitly states that attribution. As will be seen in Chapter Three, the tone of Ibn Sīnā's response to Ibn Zayla in the introduction to this letter is relatively harsh, and this may account for its excision in the Recensions.

²⁵ For MS Ṣ2, see Chapter One, I.A.a, and for its place in Ibn Zayla's discussions with Ibn Sīnā, see Chapter Three, II.C.2.vi. Bīdārfar did not make use of MS Ṣ2 and so was unable to offer a definite attribution for this piece (see, for example, his tentative attribution to Bahmanyār, p. 291, note to 824).

The second possibility warrants closer attention, but is ultimately intractable for the simple reason that there is no evidence to support it other than the apparently incomplete nature of Bahmanyār's recension. This possibility assumes that Bahmanyār began to collect the materials into a recension prior to the conclusion of his correspondence with Ibn Sīnā. In the absence of additional evidence, we must assume that the correspondence concluded with or shortly before Ibn Sīnā's death in 428/1037. An argument for dating one of the early letters of the correspondence (MII) to 421/1030 will be presented in Chapter Four. At any point after this date, Bahmanyār may have begun making a clean copy of the materials. But we have no definitive information that would allow us to state whether the correspondence between Bahmanyār and Ibn Sīnā concluded before Ibn Sīnā's death or with his death.

However, there is some internal evidence which suggests that Bahmanyār had a general notion of how he wanted the questions and responses arranged, and that he had determined that order in the course of his correspondence with Ibn Sīnā. In MVIa1, we find a rough description of this order:

MVIa1:397. The servant Bahmanyār ibn al-Marzubān, servant of our master, the chief, the singular and most reverend leader, glory of the realm, pride of the scholars—may God prolong his term, perpetuate his high rank and eminence, and crush his enviers and enemies—respectfully served his highest presence with a letter wrapped around loose pages, questions, and disputations *to which he hoped everyone would have access* and which the noblest cognizance would thoroughly comprehend. But perhaps with regard to it he made an impetuous demand on his munificence *to respond to those questions under each of the separate sections set out in those pages joined with the letter*, [which he did only] in order that none would escape his notice. For these responses that he bestows, perhaps the fundamental principles of the issues would have been lost²⁶ on young students—may God prolong the times he countenances them!—so he confines himself in his responses to the summaries found, or perhaps the excessive amount of work involved forces him to be brief? [emphasis added]

Bahmanyār goes on to state that because he had received no response from Ibn Sīnā, he decided to send him another copy of the questions in the same order (i.e., grouped in sections, *fuṣūl*) as the first set:

MVIa1:398. Under [this letter] I recorded the questions in that order [mentioned above] so that he might write a response under each one of them with the fullest commentary.

It is clear that the material accompanying Letter MVIa1 consisted only of Bahmanyār's questions at this stage, for he asks Ibn Sīnā to write in his

²⁶ *taḍīʿu* read. Reisman. : undotted B : *yaḍīʿu* read. Bīdārfar.

responses under each of the questions which were further organized into sections. There are numerous problems of interpretation related to this letter, but it seems clear that Bahmanyār did have an organizing principle for at least some parts of the Mubāḥaṭāt materials *as those materials were being composed*. Note MVib1 again reiterates the general organization that Bahmanyār encouraged Ibn Sīnā to follow in his responses:

MVib1:500. Would that our most reverend master, the chief, the leader—may God prolong his high standing—see fit to respond to these questions in his usual august and generous manner, God willing.

The scribe who copied the note adds that Ibn Sīnā “then wrote the responses under the questions” (501). Further indication of a general organization to the Mubāḥaṭāt materials is found in the regular references to *fuṣūl*, or sections of materials, by both Ibn Sīnā and Bahmanyār (see the discussion of codicological forms in Chapter One, Part One, I.A). All of this evidence suggests that Bahmanyār wanted the materials to be organized in a particular way as they were being composed, although this organization was not always adhered to by Ibn Sīnā.

Bahmanyār’s statement in Letter MVia1 concerning his questions and disputations “to which he hoped everyone would have access” (*yarǧū wuṣūla l-ǧamīʿi ilayhā*) might suggest a larger plan for “publication.” This would support the theory that Bahmanyār was engaged in compiling a collection of correspondence, responsa, and dicta before Ibn Sīnā’s death. However, it is significant that Bahmanyār’s early recension contains neither Letter MVia1 nor Note MVib1, and these omissions are common to all of the Earlier Recensions. Only the Later Recension contains this material. It may be that the Letter and Note were not returned to Bahmanyār by Ibn Sīnā (possibility 3); this would suggest that materials found only in the Later Recension might originate with Ibn Sīnā’s papers. But Bahmanyār may not have included them in his recension since they do not bear directly upon philosophical matters (possibility 4.a).

The evidence from Letter MVia1 and Note MVib1 suggests that Bahmanyār had a definite idea of how he wanted the questions and responses of the Mubāḥaṭāt materials organized, and there may be some indication, scil. his plan for “access,” that he had conceived of a collected version of these questions and responses. This general principle of organization was adumbrated by Bahmanyār in the course of his correspondence with Ibn Sīnā, so it must have been established, if not always adhered to, before Ibn Sīnā’s death in 428/1037. But it is impossible to identify the precise reason that the collection of these materials found in the *Taḥṣīlāt* of Bahmanyār in MS E lack materials found in other recensions of Mubāḥaṭāt materials; any of the four possibilities might reasonably apply. It should also be noted that while

Bahmanyār indicated to Ibn Sīnā how he wished the correspondence to be organized, i.e., questions followed by responses organized into sections, there is no evidence that Ibn Sīnā was aware of a larger collection of such correspondence entitled *Taḥṣīlāt* by Bahmanyār.

However, the very fact that Bahmanyār's *Taḥṣīlāt* lacks material and displays a very different order of materials in its later parts in comparison to the other Earlier Recensions, as well as the coincidence of similar titles, viz. the *Taḥṣīlāt* for the Mubāḥaṭāt materials and *Kitāb at-Taḥṣīl* for his compendium written for his uncle, suggest that Bahmanyār may have abandoned the project of collecting Mubāḥaṭāt materials a reasonable amount of time before his own death (i.e., a reasonable amount of time in which to compose the later *Kitāb at-Taḥṣīl*). Whether or not he abandoned the project before or after Ibn Sīnā's death thus becomes irrelevant. Furthermore, this theory that Bahmanyār abandoned the project helps to account for the peculiarities of the textual transmission and recension process of *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt*. Bahmanyār most likely kept the original materials that he copied in a clean hand and named *Taḥṣīlāt* but, in addition, the material that was not included in the *Taḥṣīlāt* must also have existed independently of that collection. Thus, the independently circulating fascicles of materials found in numerous manuscripts enjoyed their own transmission, but they were also incorporated into the other Earlier Recensions as well as the Later Recension. The similarity between the two titles *Taḥṣīlāt* and *Kitāb at-Taḥṣīl* might also be incorporated into this theory. Having abandoned the project of collecting Mubāḥaṭāt materials under the title *Taḥṣīlāt* and having been asked to write a philosophical compendium for his uncle, Bahmanyār could transfer parts of the *Taḥṣīlāt* to this new compendium and name that new work *Kitāb at-Taḥṣīl*.

In summary, the evidence as a whole suggests the following recensional development for the Mubāḥaṭāt materials. Sometime shortly before or after Ibn Sīnā's death in 428/1037, Bahmanyār compiled an incomplete collection of Mubāḥaṭāt materials which he entitled *Taḥṣīlāt*, but he may have abandoned the project. The incomplete collection as well as the original materials in scattered form (including those not in Bahmanyār's *Taḥṣīlāt*) would circulate through the end of the 5th/11th century. There was a progressive or simultaneous inclusion of these materials into the other three Earlier Recensions which occurred between Bahmanyār's death in 458/1066-7 and the end of the 5th/11th century or beginning of the 6th/12th century. The origin of the title *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt* is likely to be dated to this period, since one of those recensions, perhaps that represented by MS A, bearing the title *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt*, would be subject to a radical deconstruction (by al-Lawkarī?) sometime around the end of the 5th/11th century or the beginning of the 6th/12th century. This deconstructed group of materials, the original materials,

and additional accretions, would find their way into aṣ-Ṣignāhī's codex, copied sometime between 500-550/1106-1155; this codex contains the earliest *dated* appearance of the title al-Mubāḥatāt. Bahmanyār's collection would continue to exist independently of that editorial intention. It is probable that during the same period in which the Earlier Recensions were being constructed, i.e., 458/1067 to the beginning of the 6th/12th century, yet another recension was undertaken probably on the basis of one of those Earlier Recensions. The resulting Later Recension would subject the material of one of the Earlier Recensions to a reorganization and would also witness the inclusion of additional material (MVIa1, MVIb1) probably from Ibn Sīnā's collection of papers. This new, Later, and in fact final collective recension would also bear the title al-Mubāḥatāt. And finally, throughout the entire period from Ibn Sīnā's death to the creation of the Later Recension and afterwards, smaller independent fascicles of both Mubāḥatāt materials and later accretions would continue to circulate.

III. EXTERNAL EVIDENCE

III.A. *Versions of the Autobiography/Biography Complex*

The Autobiography of Ibn Sīnā and, more especially, the hagiographic Biography of his disciple al-Ġūzġānī represent the only comprehensive contemporary information we have about Ibn Sīnā's corpus. With regard to bibliographic information, Ibn Sīnā recounts the contexts of the composition of three of his earlier works in his Autobiography, while al-Ġūzġānī, in the narrative of his Biography, records a number of other works which Ibn Sīnā composed during the time that al-Ġūzġānī lived and travelled with him. In addition, two Bibliographies, that is, title lists of Ibn Sīnā's works, became associated with al-Ġūzġānī's Biography of his master. One, the Shorter Bibliography,²⁷ has long been thought to be the work of al-Ġūzġānī himself; it will be suggested here that this supposition remains open to question. The Longer Bibliography was appended to al-Ġūzġānī's Biography around 588/1192 (the copy date of the earliest manuscript of the Biography; see below). Both the Shorter and the Longer Bibliographies contain the title al-Mubāḥatāt. All four elements, viz. the Autobiography, the Biography,

²⁷ Throughout this discussion I use the terms employed by Gohlman for the bibliographies associated with al-Ġūzġānī's Biography; thus, the Shorter Bibliography is the bibliography embedded in al-Ġūzġānī's Biography (Gohlman, 46-48/47-49), and the Longer Bibliography is the bibliography appended to al-Ġūzġānī's Biography sometime before 588/1192 (the date of the earliest manuscript of the Sargudašt, Istanbul University 4755; Gohlman 90-112/91-113). However, as will become clear, the contents of neither the Shorter nor the Longer Bibliographies are consistent across manuscript families.

the Shorter Bibliography, and the Longer Bibliography, are collectively referred to here as the Autobiography/Biography Complex. The three major versions of the Autobiography/Biography Complex are the independently transmitted Sargudašt, al-Bayhaqī's retelling and the al-Qiftī/Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a revision.

We do not have an extant exemplar of the Sargudašt that predates the composition date of al-Bayhaqī's *Tatimma*, so the latter must form the point of departure for our investigation. This latter work has been described as a retelling of the Sargudašt,²⁸ and this has to be taken into account in assessing its value. But such a characterization need not have an impact on the *bibliographical* information it provides. In addition to retelling the Complex narratives, al-Bayhaqī also provides some incidental references to a number of Ibn Sīnā's works that originate with his own readings. The bibliography found in al-Bayhaqī's version of al-Ġūzġānī's Biography does not contain the title al-Mubāḥaṭāt; but among his incidental remarks al-Bayhaqī makes reference to a work entitled al-Mabāḥiṭ the description of which allows us to identify it with what is now referred to as al-Mubāḥaṭāt.

The elements that must be evaluated in weighing the respective authority of the bibliographical information in al-Ġūzġānī's Biography and al-Bayhaqī's biography are multiple. The least important of these elements is the Longer Bibliography appended to al-Ġūzġānī's Biography. According to the manuscript evidence for the Autobiography/Biography Complex, the Longer Bibliography was compiled sometime before 588/1192; the inclusion of the title al-Mubāḥaṭāt in this Longer Bibliography thus accords with the manuscript evidence from the various exemplars of Mubāḥaṭāt materials discussed above. On the basis of that evidence, we can be relatively certain that the title al-Mubāḥaṭāt was fixed in the majority of the Recensions by the turn of the 6th/12th century. The fact that the Longer Bibliography is not the work of al-Ġūzġānī is made explicit in the exemplars of the Autobiography/Biography Complex, and so it cannot be accorded the authority of a contemporary or even near contemporary source for Ibn Sīnā's corpus.

²⁸ This is the description accorded al-Bayhaqī's entry by Gutas, *EIr*, 2:67. Evidence for the fact that al-Bayhaqī himself was responsible for this retelling can be found in his biography of Ibn Sīnā's first teacher in logic an-Nātilī, where al-Bayhaqī reproduces a first person account by Ibn Sīnā (al-Bayhaqī's retelling in his entry on Ibn Sīnā is in the third person) of his studies with an-Nātilī (ed. Šafīr, p. 22). This suggests that al-Bayhaqī knew Ibn Sīnā's original Autobiography, which was cast in the first person. However, the text of Ibn Sīnā's statements about an-Nātilī in al-Bayhaqī's report differ from the text of the Sargudašt and the version in al-Qiftī/Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a (cf. Gohlman, 20/21f.). This does not mean, however, that al-Bayhaqī had access to a recension of the Biography different from that represented by those other sources. In his retelling of Ibn Sīnā's Autobiography, al-Bayhaqī remains faithful enough to the vocabulary of Ibn Sīnā's statements about an-Nātilī (idem, p. 40). The salient point is that, while in his entry on an-Nātilī al-Bayhaqī records the somewhat condescending remarks of Ibn Sīnā about an-Nātilī (albeit with different vocabulary), he removed these remarks in his retelling of the Autobiography in his entry on Ibn Sīnā.

Much more problematic is the Shorter Bibliography purportedly compiled by al-Ġūzġānī and found in al-Qifṭī/Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa and in at least one exemplar of the independent Sargudašt. However, the contents of this Shorter Bibliography differ in al-Qifṭī, in Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, and in the one exemplar of the Sargudašt that to my knowledge contains it.²⁹ Additionally, while the Shorter Bibliography is not actually found in the majority of the exemplars of the independent Sargudašt, it is referred to in at least three of those exemplars. To complicate matters, the manuscripts of al-Bayhaqī's *Tatimma* contain another pair of shorter and longer bibliographies. The case of al-Bayhaqī's longer bibliography is similar to that of the Longer Bibliography in al-Qifṭī/Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa and the independent Sargudašt. An initial shorter bibliography was copied down by al-Bayhaqī, but by the early 7th/13th century, that initial bibliography was replaced with or supplemented by a longer one in at least one of the manuscript families of al-Bayhaqī's *Tatimma*.³⁰

It is reasonable to assume that all three versions of the Autobiography and Biography, viz. the Sargudašt, al-Bayhaqī's re-telling, and the revision in al-Qifṭī/Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, originally go back to a common source. But because of the very fluid nature of the contents of the various bibliographies in all three versions, as well as the incremental changes apparent in those

²⁹ For the differences between al-Qifṭī and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, see the table in Gohlman, op. cit., pp. 143ff. The Shorter Bibliography in the MS Tehran University 2441, 125v, apparently derives from the longer bibliography in later manuscripts of al-Bayhaqī's *Tatimma*, or perhaps from aṣ-Šāhrazūrī's *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ*, since it, like those, contains the titles *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt* and *Kitāb al-Muqṭaḍayāt as-sabʿa* together.

³⁰ Gohlman reached a similar conclusion (op. cit., p. 14). However, it is incorrect to view the process as one involving manuscripts, as Gohlman does. He states that it is *later manuscripts* of al-Bayhaqī's *Tatimma* that contain a longer bibliography; it may in fact be a question of *recensions*. Al-Bayhaqī's original shorter bibliography is found in Berlin Pm. II 737, a manuscript Ahlwardt (no. 10072) dated to c. 1150/1737-8, whereas the longer bibliography is found in manuscripts dated to the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries: Murad Mulla 1408, dated 639/1241-2; Bešir Āġa 494, dated 689/1290 (see Šafīʿ, p. 313 for both); Köprülü 902, dated by M. Plessner (Beiträge," p. 537) to the 8th/14th century. I have not seen the exemplar British Museum Or. 9033, which F. Rosenthal ("On the Knowledge of Plato's Philosophy," p. 407, n. 1) suggests is as old as the Istanbul manuscripts, nor Mašhad Ta'rīḥ 24, listed by D. Gutas, "The Šiwān al-Ḥikma Cycle of Texts," p. 646b. I am also unaware if al-Ġadanfar at-Tibrīzī's selections of the *Tatimma*, found in MS John Rylands 783 (see *ibid.*, p. 647b) includes the biography and bibliography of Ibn Sīnā from al-Bayhaqī. The 7th/14th century Persian translation of the *Tatimma* (*Durrat al-aḥbār va Lumʿat al-anvār*, edited by Šafīʿ on the basis of MS Panjab University Pf. II 24 [see Gutas, *ib.*, p. 646b]) made by Ġiyāṭ ad-Dīn Munšī displays a somewhat different version of the shorter bibliography (pp. 33-36). Finally, the abridgment of *Šiwān al-ḥikma* undertaken by ʿUmar ibn Sahlān as-Sāwī (MS Fatih 3222) does not contain a summary of al-Bayhaqī's *Tatimma* and so does not provide additional evidence concerning the contents of the original *Tatimma* (I thank Dimitri Gutas for this correction to his earlier statement in *ibid.*, p. 647a, and Franz Rosenthal for lending me his microfilm copy of the manuscript). At any rate, it is clear that the shorter bibliography in al-Bayhaqī is the original one for the simple reason that al-Bayhaqī knew of a work entitled al-Mabāḥiṭ (see the citations below), but the longer bibliography in the majority of extant exemplars of the *Tatimma* contains the title al-Mubāḥaṭāt.

bibliographies in the manuscript families of each of those versions, it is more difficult to determine the nature of a posited common *bibliographical* source. For instance, it could be argued that the Shorter Bibliography in al-Qiftī and the short bibliography in al-Bayhaqī ultimately derive from a common source, but there is scant means at our disposal with which to accord one more authority than the other in correctly reflecting that common source. It cannot be said with certainty that because al-Qiftī implicitly attributes the Shorter Bibliography to al-Ġūzġānī by including it in his revision of al-Ġūzġānī's Biography that that Shorter Bibliography contains information that actually goes back to al-Ġūzġānī. And while some of the exemplars of the independent Sargudašt refer to a Shorter Bibliography by al-Ġūzġānī, only one exemplar (Tehran University 2441) actually contains a Shorter Bibliography, but the contents there in fact derive from the later longer bibliography in al-Bayhaqī's *Tatimma*.

The only truly dateable piece of evidence available to us is the contents of the Longer Bibliography, found in MS Istanbul University 4755, dated 588/1192. This Longer Bibliography contains the title al-Mubāḥaṭāt and this is consistent with the manuscript evidence for the appearance of the Earlier Recensions and the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension. In order to evaluate the information from al-Qiftī and al-Bayhaqī, we cannot rely upon the supposition that one or the other correctly preserved bibliographical information going back ultimately to al-Ġūzġānī; rather we must consider what information was available to each at the time that they composed their collections of biographies. Thus, the order of discussion here follows the date of composition for those collections: al-Bayhaqī (d. 565/1170) and then al-Qiftī (d. 646/1248).

III.A.a. *Al-Bayhaqī's Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-ḥikma*

Al-Bayhaqī likely completed his *Tatimma* shortly after 553/1158-9, since this is the latest date mentioned in the work.³¹ While he undoubtedly compiled this work over a period of years, the information he provides concerning Ibn Sīnā's bibliography can be viewed as representative of informed scholarship in the mid-6th/mid-12th century.

Two elements of the information al-Bayhaqī provides are of interest

³¹ Al-Bayhaqī cites one Abū Bakr ibn ʿUrwa (who he tells us died in 553/1158-9) for an anecdote about Ibn at-Tilmīd; see Ṣafīʿ, p. 141, and idem, "The Author of the Oldest Biographical Notice," pp. 593, 598. Cf. F. Rosenthal, "Arabische Nachrichten," p. 27, n. 3; idem, in his review of Ṣafīʿ' s edition of the *Tatimma*, p. 626; and M. Krause, review of Ṣafīʿ, pp. 90-2. Meyerhof, who translated parts of the work (*Osiris*, 8, pp. 122-217) gives the date of 548/1153 (p. 132) as the year in which al-Bayhaqī completed his work, but this seems to be based on the fact that al-Bayhaqī fled Nishapur in that year with the conquest of the area by the Ġuzz Turks. Ṣafīʿ ("The Author," p. 593) has established that al-Bayhaqī did not in fact leave Nishapur until 549. Whatever the case, it is reasonable to suppose that al-Bayhaqī continued to add details to the *Tatimma* after his departure.

here. The first is his descriptive references to a work he knew as al-Mabāḥiṭ but which can only be identified with the work now known as al-Mubāḥatāt. The second element is the contents of the shorter bibliography of Ibn Sīnā's works that al-Bayhaqī reproduces as part of his retelling of the Biography/Autobiography Complex.

III.A.a.1. Al-Bayhaqī's References to a Work entitled al-Mabāḥiṭ

The following references derive from al-Bayhaqī's own readings in the Ibn Sīnā corpus and so stand apart from his retelling of the Complex.

i. In his biography of Abū l-Faraġ ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib, al-Bayhaqī says: "The Šayḥ Abū 'Alī [ibn Sīnā] used to criticize [Abū l-Faraġ] and disparage his works, saying in his al-Mabāḥiṭ: 'his book deserves to be returned to its seller, and let him keep the money!' Perhaps that [statement] was the result of the mutual envy common amongst contemporaries."³²

ii. In his biography of Bahmanyār, al-Bayhaqī says: "Most of al-Mabāḥiṭ were questions [posed by] Bahmanyār when he was researching abstruse [philosophical] problems."

[iii. Al-Bayhaqī cites a passage from Ibn Sīnā's "Letter to Kiyā" in his biography of Abū l-Ḥayr ibn Suwār.³³ This citation is similar to the citation in (ii) above in that both texts belong to the category of Accretional Mubāḥatāt materials.³⁴ It is distinguished from the citation in (ii) in that al-Bayhaqī does not refer to it as part of what he calls al-Mabāḥiṭ.]

Two significant observations can be made about al-Bayhaqī's citations. The first and most obvious is that al-Bayhaqī refers to what we now know as al-Mubāḥatāt by the title al-Mabāḥiṭ.³⁵ The second is that al-Bayhaqī cites

³² Šafīʿ, pp. 27-8. Šafīʿ notes (p. 27, n. 6) that the Persian translation of the *Tatimma* lacks the passage entirely (*Durrat al-aḥbār*, pp. 24-5), and that in Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a's report on Abū l-Faraġ, the citation of Ibn Sīnā's comment in the so-called al-Mabāḥiṭ has been replaced with a citation of his comment in his refutation of Abū l-Faraġ (see IAU, p. 324, and for Ibn Sīnā's refutation of Abū l-Faraġ, see *Risāla fī r-radd ilā [sic!] š-šayḥ Abū [sic!] l-Faraġ ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib fī ṭ-ṭibb* in H. Z. Ülken, *İbn Sina risāleleri*, 1, pp. 66-71). We might also note that al-Qifṭī rehabilitates Ibn Sīnā's view of Abū l-Faraġ completely, eradicating the disparaging remark and replacing it with: "...we [i.e., Ibn Sīnā] say only that Abū l-Faraġ ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib revived what had been forgotten of these sciences and explained what had been obscure" (ed. Lippert, p. 223) The difference between the reports of al-Qifṭī and Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a suggests that, while the latter was undoubtedly dependent on the former for his material (see Gohlman's view, op. cit., p. 1), he did not hesitate to make his own emendations.

³³ Šafīʿ, p. 13.5-7; cf. Gutas, *Avicenna*, 64, n. 18.

³⁴ Šafīʿ, p. 13.5-7; cf. Gutas, *Avicenna*, 64, n. 18.

³⁵ Šafīʿ, p. 91. In a passage unrelated to Ibn Sīnā and Bahmanyār's discussions, al-Bayhaqī uses the plural noun *al-mubāḥatāt*. In his biography of 'Alī b. Šāḥ al-Qaṣṣārī aḍ-Ḍarīr, we find the following statement (p. 172): "The discussions recorded (*mubāḥatāt maḍkūra*) in my work

from two texts. One (ii) he explicitly states is part of al-Mabāḥiṭ; this quotation is clearly derived from MIVa, a letter Gutas has entitled “Memoirs of a Disciple from Rayy.”³⁶ Another (iii) he does not refer to as part of al-Mabāḥiṭ; this is the “Letter to Kiyā,” found in a number of codices containing recensions of the Mubāḥaṭāt (MSS C, L, H, and Š). Thus, there are three identifying characteristics of the recension of the Mubāḥaṭāt consulted by al-Bayhaqī when he wrote his *Tatimma* during the first half of the 6th/12th century: 1) it was entitled al-Mabāḥiṭ; 2) it contained, aside from Bahmanyār’s questions to which al-Bayhaqī refers, the “Memoirs” and the “Letter to Kiyā;” 3) and the “Letter to Kiyā” was distinguished from the work al-Mabāḥiṭ, since al-Bayhaqī does not refer to it as part of that work. Of all the possible extant exemplars of the various recensions of the Mubāḥaṭāt, only MS Leiden Warner 864 (L) displays these same characteristics: 1) the descriptive term *al-mabāḥiṭ* is found in the colophon of L2; 2) the codex as a whole contains both the “Memoirs” and the “Letter to Kiyā;” and 3) most significantly, the “Memoirs” is a part of the recension of the Mubāḥaṭāt there, whereas the “Letter to Kiyā” is explicitly set apart from that recension by the scribe.³⁷

Clearly, we should not imagine that al-Bayhaqī had in hand the actual exemplar Leiden Warner 864. The scribe of that exemplar twice uses the title al-Mubāḥaṭāt to refer to L2, viz. on the title page and in his colophon to L1, and it would be hard for al-Bayhaqī to overlook these two explicit uses of that title in favor of a merely descriptive term, i.e., *al-mabāḥiṭ*, found in the colophon of one of its parts. But we might imagine that the codex that al-Bayhaqī had in hand was very similar to Leiden Warner 864, if not its apograph, minus the title al-Mubāḥaṭāt. At any rate, it would be safe to date all of the elements of Leiden Warner 864 to the early part of the 6th/12th century and those in the form of a codex which included Mubāḥaṭāt materials under the title al-Mabāḥiṭ as well as the “Letter to

Kitāb ‘Arā’is an-nafā’is [took place] between Zāhīr ad-Dīn and me.” The similar *laqab* for both al-Bayhaqī and Ibn Šāhak caused some confusion for Kurd ‘Alī, who made an edition of the *Tatimma* on the basis of the Berlin MS via Šafīr’s edition (idem, *Ta’rīḥ ḥukamā’ al-islām*, p. 171, n. 2). According to al-Bayhaqī, his work *Kitāb ‘Arā’is an-nafā’is* also included his “correspondence” (*mukātabāt*) with aṣ-Šiḡnāhī (p. 130-1; and see Gutas, “Avicenna’s Library,” p. 9).

³⁶ For the Arabic text, see Bīdārfar p. 82.5-6 (al-Bayhaqī appears to have modified Ibn Sīnā’s statement so that it refers to only one book by Abū l-Faraḡ alone, rather than to the books of Abū l-Faraḡ, Abū l-Ḥayr ibn al-Ḥammār, and Ibn as-Samḥ, the actual context of the statement); transl. Gutas, *Avicenna*, p. 68.10-11, and n. 8 for additional references. That al-Bayhaqī derived his information here from the “Memoirs” (MIVa) was first noted by Pines, “Philosophie orientale,” p. 16, n. 5.

³⁷ See the descriptions in Chapter One, Part Two, I.B.c, II.A.c, and IV.A.

Kiyā” which, while a part of that codex, was explicitly set off from the so-called al-Mabāḥiṭ.

It would seem to be the case that al-Bayhaqī had access to a codex very similar in its contents to Leiden Warner 864 and bearing, for at least some of those contents, the title al-Mabāḥiṭ. The descriptions of this codex as a whole that we can glean from al-Bayhaqī’s incidental references clearly set it apart from what we imagine to be the earliest collected forms of Mubāḥatāt materials, scil. Bahmanyār’s recension, which itself appears to have carried the title *Taḥṣīlāt Bahmanyār*, as discussed above. It is worth considering the possibility, then, that there was a progression in the recension process between Bahmanyār’s recension and the codex familiar to al-Bayhaqī. This progression would seem to have involved not only an incremental addition of Mubāḥatāt materials from Bahmanyār’s *Taḥṣīlāt* to al-Bayhaqī’s al-Mabāḥiṭ, but also, as evident in the nomenclature, a change in title. In addition, there would appear to be an association of Accretional Mubāḥatāt materials, such as the “Memoirs” and the “Letter to Kiyā,” with the Mubāḥatāt materials in one codex. And while the “Letter to Kiyā” was kept distinct from the new collection of Mubāḥatāt materials, the “Memoirs,” by al-Bayhaqī’s time, had come to be included in that collection.

Equally significant, however, is the fact that we can be certain that around the time of al-Bayhaqī’s active career, i.e., the first half of the 6th/12th century, the actual title al-Mubāḥatāt was in circulation. We know this because we can roughly date the Ṣignāḥī codex, in which we find the title al-Mubāḥatāt attached to an actual recension,³⁸ to a period coterminous with al-Bayhaqī’s career, since al-Bayhaqī and aṣ-Ṣignāḥī were contemporaries. Of great importance in this regard is the fact that the two scholars were professionally close enough to have engaged in their own correspondence.³⁹ But al-Bayhaqī does not appear to have been aware of the Ibn Sīnā papers in the possession of aṣ-Ṣignāḥī, papers which included a recension of Mubāḥatāt materials that departs radically from all other surviving recensions but which was nonetheless entitled al-Mubāḥatāt. The fact that al-Bayhaqī does not employ the title al-Mubāḥatāt may be enough to state that he was unaware of aṣ-Ṣignāḥī’s codex; we may also add to this the fact that the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension also does not contain the “Memoirs,” which al-Bayhaqī clearly knew to be a part of his al-Mabāḥiṭ.

³⁸ We also find the title al-Mubāḥatāt in the Longer Bibliography added to al-Ġūzġānī’s Biography in the exemplar Istanbul University 4755, dated 588/1192.

³⁹ See Chapter One, Part Two, III.

It would be tempting to argue that what these various facts imply is that the title *al-Mabāḥiṭ* precedes the title *al-Mubāḥaṭāt* in the recension process. In other words, *al-Bayhaqī* had access to a codex which included a work entitled *al-Mabāḥiṭ* which predated the appearance of the title *al-Mubāḥaṭāt*, and *aṣ-Ṣignāhī* had access to a severely edited collection of materials which retained the title *al-Mubāḥaṭāt* from a recension that came after *al-Bayhaqī*'s *al-Mabāḥiṭ*. Setting aside some of the differences in content (which can be explained by incremental additions), the recension order would be: *Tahṣīlāt Bahmanyār* → *al-Mabāḥiṭ* → *al-Mubāḥaṭāt* → *Ṣignāhī*'s copy of the edited *al-Mubāḥaṭāt*. However, unless more evidence comes to light, we should conclude only that *al-Bayhaqī*'s *al-Mabāḥiṭ* and *aṣ-Ṣignāhī*'s *al-Mubāḥaṭāt* existed coterminously.

III.A.a.2. *Al-Bayhaqī*'s "shorter bibliography"

The shorter bibliography of *Ibn Sīnā*'s works which *al-Bayhaqī* reproduces as part of his version of the Autobiography/Biography Complex complicates matters considerably. This version, in the earliest recension of the *Tatimma*, lists neither a work entitled *al-Mabāḥiṭ* nor one entitled *al-Mubāḥaṭāt*.⁴⁰ As in other versions of the Complex, a bibliography of works is found in *al-Bayhaqī*'s retelling of *al-Ġūzġānī*'s Biography. In all versions, this bibliography is placed immediately after *al-Ġūzġānī*'s account of *Ibn Sīnā*'s stay in Ġurġān (where *al-Ġūzġānī* first joined *Ibn Sīnā*) and which occasioned the composition of four works. The version of this bibliography in *al-Bayhaqī*, introduced as "a list of all of [*Ibn Sīnā*'s] works," contains thirty-four entries, excluding three titles already mentioned in *al-Ġūzġānī*'s Biography.⁴¹ In addition to the absence of the title *al-Mubāḥaṭāt* from this bibliography, there are a number of other peculiar entries and omissions that do not reflect what we know to be *al-Bayhaqī*'s knowledge of *Ibn Sīnā*'s works on the basis of his comments elsewhere in the *Tatimma*. The most significant of these is the absence of the titles *al-Ḥikma al-mašriqīya* and *al-Ḥikma al-ʿaršīya*, two works whose fates *al-Bayhaqī* would himself recount later in

⁴⁰ Šafīʿ correctly retains the early shorter bibliography in *al-Bayhaqī*'s entry on *Ibn Sīnā* (pp. 46-7), and records the later longer bibliography found in other manuscripts of the *Tatimma* in his notes (pp. 187-190).

⁴¹ Gohlman states that the bibliography in *al-Bayhaqī* contains "thirty-eight works, one of which was mentioned twice" (p. 14); Gohlman does not tell us which one was listed twice, but he seems to base his enumeration on the numbers assigned the works by Šafīʿ. Šafīʿ began counting the works from the paragraph of *al-Ġūzġānī*'s Biography which precedes the actual bibliography. In the preceding paragraph, *al-Ġūzġānī* notes four works that were written by *Ibn Sīnā* in Ġurġān. Three of these works are listed again in the bibliography inserted after *al-Ġūzġānī*'s paragraph. Šafīʿ noted two, viz. no. 1: *al-Muḥtaṣar al-awsaṭ fi l-manṭiq*, and 3: *Kitāb al-Arṣād al-kullīya*, but he overlooked a third, no. 2: *Kitāb al-Mabdāʾ wa-l-maʿād*, which is repeated at no. 20.

his retelling of the Biography.⁴² This indicates that al-Bayhaqī drew on sources other than the Complex for his knowledge of Ibn Sīnā's works and that he did not alter the bibliographical information of the Complex on the basis of that additional knowledge.

With regard to the absence of a title al-Mabāḥiṭ or al-Mubāḥatāt, there are additional peculiarities in the bibliography in al-Bayhaqī's *Tatimma*. On the basis of the citations discussed above, we know that al-Bayhaqī was familiar with a work which, from his own descriptions, must have been some form of a collected recension of what is now known as al-Mubāḥatāt. The fact that he knew it under the title al-Mabāḥiṭ means that if we were to suppose al-Bayhaqī to be the author of the bibliography he records in the *Tatimma*, we should not be surprised if we *did not* find the title al-Mubāḥatāt listed, but it should occasion some surprise that he does not record even the title al-Mabāḥiṭ in that bibliography, a bibliography that, no less, claims to be comprehensive. What we find in place of either title is a work called *Kitāb al-Muqtaḍayāt*. This peculiar entry in the Ibn Sīnā corpus has generated some minor discussion among scholars. Šafīʿ noted⁴³ that in place of this title in the *Tatimma* bibliography we find the title *al-Mubāḥatāt* in the Shorter Bibliography of al-Qifṭī/Ibn Abī ʿUṣaybiʿa.⁴⁴ Dānišpažūh⁴⁵ repeated Šafīʿ's remarks and noted that the later longer bibliography in one manuscript family of al-Bayhaqī's *Tatimma* as well as the Longer Bibliography in three exemplars of the Sargudašt in Iranian libraries contain both titles.⁴⁶ Implicit in both scholars' discussions is the suggestion that one title was substituted for the other, although it is impossible to know whether it was al-Bayhaqī or al-Qifṭī who was responsible for the substitution. The fact that the later

⁴² *Tatimma*, ed. Šafīʿ, p. 56; see Gutas, *Avicenna*, p. 117 for a translation of this passage. With regard to the title *al-Ḥikma al-ʿaršīya*, Šafīʿ notes (p. 56, n. 6) the variant from Köprülü 902 of *al-quḍsiya* for *al-aršīya*. This variant accords with the title in the bibliography in the *Tatimma* (idem, p. 46, no. 18), but the passage on p. 56 is likely drawn from al-Bayhaqī's reading of Letter MII (esp. Bīdārfar 34-5). While al-Bayhaqī on p. 56 follows al-Ğüzğānī's biography in noting the loss of *al-Inṣāf*, of the four texts that relate the loss of Ibn Sīnā's books (viz. the Biography; Ibn Sīnā's Letter to Kiyā; MIVa: "Memoirs of a Disciple from Rayy"; and MII), only in MII do we find all three works treated together. Finding the three books mentioned in MII and in al-Bayhaqī's expansion of al-Ğüzğānī's report cannot be a coincidence. Thus, al-Bayhaqī knew of a *al-Ḥikma al-ʿaršīya* from a source independent of al-Ğüzğānī's Biography (i.e., via MII), but he does not list the work as part of the bibliography in his retelling of that Biography.

⁴³ *Tatimma*, p. 22, n. 9.

⁴⁴ For the Shorter Bibliography, see Gohlman, pp. 46/47.

⁴⁵ Miškāt cat. 3:1, 340, n. 1.

⁴⁶ For the longer bibliography in MSS Murad Molla 1408, Köprülü 902, and Bešir Āğa 689, see Šafīʿ, p. 187. The Longer Bibliography in the three Iranian exemplars of the Sargudašt cannot be identical to the Longer Bibliography in the exemplars of the Sargudašt used by Gohlman (idem, pp. 91-113), since the latter record only al-Mubāḥatāt. It is likely that the Iranian exemplars were somehow contaminated from the manuscript family of the *Tatimma* containing the longer bibliography.

longer bibliography in some exemplars of the *Tatimma* lists both titles suggests that that later bibliography is a concatenation of the original short bibliography in the *Tatimma* and another bibliography containing the title al-Mubāḥaṭāt (this other bibliography was probably one similar to the Longer Bibliography in one of the families of Sargudašt manuscripts).

It is unlikely that al-Bayhaqī effected the substitution of *al-Muqtaḍayāt* for the title al-Mubāḥaṭāt in an earlier bibliography of Ibn Sīnā's works to which he had access or even that he incorrectly copied *al-Muqtaḍayāt* instead of al-Mubāḥaṭāt, because he seems to have actually seen a copy of this *al-Muqtaḍayāt*. In his biography of an-Nātilī, Ibn Sīnā's first teacher in logic, al-Bayhaqī states: "I also saw a *Treatise on Alchemy* [by an-Nātilī] but Abū 'Alī [ibn Sīnā] mentions him only in *Kitāb al-Muqtaḍayāt* [*as-sab'a*]." ⁴⁷ This statement appears problematic in syntax and sense; but understood within the context of al-Bayhaqī's account of an-Nātilī, these problems can be resolved. The thrust of al-Bayhaqī's characterization of an-Nātilī is developed in reaction to what al-Bayhaqī rightly viewed as condescending remarks made by Ibn Sīnā about an-Nātilī. Al-Bayhaqī begins his report by recording those condescending remarks (centering on how Ibn Sīnā was easily able to surpass an-Nātilī's grasp of logic and geometry, to the latter's astonishment), after which al-Bayhaqī expresses his admiration for a theological work by an-Nātilī. He then notes that he also saw a work on alchemy by an-Nātilī. After al-Bayhaqī has indicated that Ibn Sīnā does not mention an-Nātilī (i.e., give an-Nātilī due credit) in any of his works but this *al-Muqtaḍayāt*, he records two statements ostensibly by an-Nātilī that evoke one of Ibn Sīnā's most innovative theories, that concerning the "sanctified soul" and the corollary theory about intuition. According to al-Bayhaqī, an-Nātilī said: "You must study the substance of the noble soul," and "The sanctified soul is not persuaded by the dialectical nor rhetorical syllogism." ⁴⁸ Implicit in al-Bayhaqī's report is that an-Nātilī was the progenitor of these theories, but that Ibn Sīnā did not give him due acknowledgment. This interpretation serves to resolve the syntactic context in which al-Bayhaqī cites *al-Muqtaḍayāt*, but it does not address the larger bibliographical problem of the identity of the work.

There is no extant work by Ibn Sīnā with the word *muqtaḍayāt* in its title. Nor are there any references to an-Nātilī by Ibn Sīnā in any of his works aside from the Autobiography. Al-Bayhaqī was aware of Ibn Sīnā's heavy-handed memorial to his teacher in his Autobiography, so his statement that Ibn Sīnā mentions an-Nātilī only in the purported *Kitāb al-Muqtaḍayāt*

⁴⁷ Šafī'ī, p. 22.10-11. Apparently, Šafī'ī placed *as-sab'a* in brackets to indicate that it is an addition from one of the manuscripts upon which he did not base his edition, although he did not indicate which one. Kurd 'Alī, p. 38.7, adds *as-sab'a* from Šafī'ī.

⁴⁸ On these theories, see Gutas, *Avicenna*, 159ff.

is difficult to fathom. But this can be explained by understanding al-Bayhaqī to mean that Ibn Sīnā did not admit his *intellectual inheritance* from an-Nātilī in any of his philosophical works; this interpretation would accord with the explanation for al-Bayhaqī's statements in an-Nātilī's biography given above. Other later authors also record some version of the title *al-Muqtaḍayāt* as found in al-Bayhaqī, but there is no way to exclude the possibility that these later authors in fact derived their information from al-Bayhaqī.⁴⁹

The fact that there is no extant work by Ibn Sīnā entitled *al-Muqtaḍayāt*, and the fact that the Shorter Bibliography in al-Qiftī presents conflicting evidence by recording the title al-Mubāḥatāt instead of *al-Muqtaḍayāt*, and the fact that we have no other contemporaneous evidence for such a title around the time al-Bayhaqī was writing requires that we assess the possibility that al-Bayhaqī's information is false. There is certainly some justification for questioning al-Bayhaqī's commitment to presenting a factual record about Ibn Sīnā. His animosity towards Ibn Sīnā is apparent in a number of comments he makes in the *Tatimma*, not least in his report from an "anonymous hostile witness" (*baʿḍu ḥusamāʾi bni Sīnā*) that Ibn Sīnā set fire to Nūḥ ibn Maṣṣūr's library so that he alone would have sole possession of the knowledge learned from its rich collection.⁵⁰ But how this apparent hostility might adversely affect al-Bayhaqī's presentation of *bibliographical* information on Ibn Sīnā is unclear. We might suggest that al-Bayhaqī added the title *al-Muqtaḍayāt* to the bibliography of Ibn Sīnā that he records in order to lend weight to the information he provides in his biography of an-Nātilī, scil. that Ibn Sīnā cites an-Nātilī only in that work, but there is no conceivable reason why he might eradicate the title al-Mubāḥatāt from that bibliography

⁴⁹ The title was known to the later author Ibn al-Akfānī (d. 749/1348), who provides an additional (spurious?) description. In his *Kitāb Iršād al-qāṣid ilā asnā al-maqāṣid* (ed. J. J. Witkam, Arabic text, p. 46, ll. 603-4), he says that Aristotle wrote eight books on Natural Science "each one of which was devoted to a particular part [of Natural Sciences] each book of which Ibn Sīnā extracted in an abridgment (*muḥtaṣar*) that he called *al-Muqtaḍayāt*." The division into eight books suggests that Ibn al-Akfānī had in mind the eight *fanns* of the Natural Sciences in the *Šifāʾ*, whose arrangement Ibn Sīnā states to be that of the peripatetics (*aš-Šifāʾ: as-Samāʿ at-Ṭabīʿī*, p. 3.6; this arrangement is apparently the one that "occurred" to him; see al-Ġūzġānī's *al-Madḥal*, translated by Gutas, p. 41, 42). But Ibn al-Akfānī also knew the *Šifāʾ* (see references in Witkam, p. 359). Al-Qalqaṣandī (d. 821/1418) copies Ibn al-Akfānī (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿšā*, 1:476; for al-Qalqaṣandī's use of *Iršād al-qāṣid*, see Witkam, pp. 265-268). Ḥaġġī Ḥalīfa attributes a *Muqtaḍayāt al-kabīr as-sabʿa* to Ibn Sīnā in his *Kaṣf aẓ-ẓunūn* (2:1793) but lists neither a work entitled al-Mubāḥatāt nor one entitled al-Mabāḥiṭ. Ḥaġġī Ḥalīfa's reading *al-kabīr* for *al-kutub* is shared with only aš-Šāhrazūri's bibliography of Ibn Sīnā's works in his *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ*, p. 469, no. 51 (this bibliography is based on the later longer bibliography in the *Tatimma*), but this does not explain Ḥaġġī Ḥalīfa's omission of al-Mabāḥiṭ, a title also found in aš-Šāhrazūri's list. However, there are other examples of Ḥaġġī Ḥalīfa's superficial reading of aš-Šāhrazūri (see W. al-Qāḍī in "Kitāb Šiwān al-Ḥikma," p. 99, n. 23).

⁵⁰ Šaḥīr, p. 43. See also al-Bayhaqī's anecdote about the encounter between Ibn Sīnā and Miskawayh, pp. 28-30, and his defense of Abū l-Faraġ ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib and Bīrūnī against Ibn Sīnā, pp. 29, 62-3.

as a result, and there can be no conceivable doctrinal impetus behind a choice of *al-Mabāḥiṭ* instead of *al-Mubāḥaṭāt* to refer to Bahmanyār's correspondence with his master.

In lieu of additional evidence about the elusive *al-Muqtaḍayāt*, we must conclude that al-Bayhaqī not only knew the work but also faithfully passed on its title in the bibliography that he used for his entry on Ibn Sīnā. And while the manuscript tradition upon which al-Bayhaqī based his retelling of the Autobiography/Biography Complex remains to be identified,⁵¹ it is abundantly clear that al-Bayhaqī was not responsible for the bibliography found in his entry on Ibn Sīnā. Both the fact that he can record information on the fate of *al-Ḥikma al-mašriqīya*, though that title is not found in the bibliography, and the fact that he appears to have actually read a work entitled *al-Mabāḥiṭ*, though no such title is found in the bibliography, strongly indicate that al-Bayhaqī had more knowledge about some of Ibn Sīnā's works than the author of the bibliography he reproduces (recall that al-Ġūzġānī is believed to be the author of this bibliography). It may also be argued that the title *al-Muqtaḍayāt* found in that bibliography cannot be attributed to scribal error, since al-Bayhaqī cites it outside of his retelling of the Autobiography/Biography Complex. And there is no indication that *al-Muqtaḍayāt* served as an alternate title for *Mubāḥaṭāt* materials since Ibn Sīnā makes no mention of an-Nātilī in any of the *Mubāḥaṭāt* materials, such a mention being the only description of the work al-Bayhaqī provides. We must conclude that al-Bayhaqī's reference to *al-Mabāḥiṭ* is a legitimate one and, although the manuscript evidence indicates that the title *al-Mubāḥaṭāt* was in circulation around the time of al-Bayhaqī's active career, the term *al-mabāḥiṭ* was also associated with the *Mubāḥaṭāt* materials. Finally, we may state with relative certainty that al-Bayhaqī faithfully transcribed the shorter bibliography of the version of the Complex he had before him, without making his own additions.

III.A.b. *The Independent Sargudašt and the al-Qiftī/Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a Versions of the Complex*

Further complications arise when we compare al-Bayhaqī's version of the Complex to other versions which, unlike al-Bayhaqī, contain the title *al-Mubāḥaṭāt*. The manifold problems concerning the relationship of al-Bayhaqī's version to the other versions, as well as the relationship of the other versions to one another, cannot be solved here,⁵² but a general description of that

⁵¹ Gutas, *Avicenna*, p. 22, n. a, lists this as part of the "agenda" for a revision of Gohlman's work.

⁵² Indeed, it is a major desideratum that the problems raised by these various versions be solved before the historical transmission of Avicenna's works can be properly addressed. Neither Gohlman's edition of the Complex, nor indeed his very general remarks on the recensions, can

larger context is necessary if we are to adequately address the issues raised by al-Bayhaqī's bibliography. There are four elements to the Autobiography/Biography Complex:

- i. Ibn Sīnā's Autobiography;
- ii. Al-Ġūzġānī's Biography;
- iii. a Shorter Bibliography;
- iv. and a Longer Bibliography.

There are at least three major versions⁵³ of various parts of the Complex:

- i. an independently transmitted version referred to here as the Sargudašt;
- ii. the "retelling" of al-Bayhaqī (d. 565/1165);
- iii. a version embedded in the biographical dictionary of al-Qiftī (d. 646/1248), drawn on later by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a (d. 668/1270).

With regard to the various versions of the bibliographies, the following points are to be noted. The Shorter Bibliography found in al-Qiftī/Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a was purportedly composed by al-Ġūzġānī as part of his Biography. It is distinguished from the shorter bibliography in al-Bayhaqī in that it contains the title al-Mubāḥatāt whereas al-Bayhaqī's bibliography does not. The Longer Bibliography was added to the end of al-Ġūzġānī's Biography by an anonymous recensor working on the Sargudašt sometime around 588/1192, the date of the earliest extant manuscript of the Sargudašt, i.e., Istanbul University A.Y. 4755.⁵⁴ It contains the title al-Mubāḥatāt. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a likely copied al-Qiftī's version of the Complex including the Shorter Bibliography, but he also included the Longer Bibliography (not in al-Qiftī), presumably on the basis of one of the exemplars of the Sargudašt. Significantly, *none* of the manuscripts of the Sargudašt used by Gohlman for his edition

serve as the final word on the topic. For more specific criticism of Gohlman's efforts, see Gutas, *Avicenna*, p. 22, n. a, and M. Ullmann's review, cited by Gutas.

⁵³ I use the term version rather than recension because neither the version in al-Qiftī/Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a nor the version in al-Bayhaqī can be considered recensions in the modern critical sense of that term. I am inclined to agree with Gohlman (implicit in his view of al-Qiftī/Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, pp. 5-6) that the independent Sargudašt probably represents in some form the texts—excluding bibliographies—composed by Ibn Sīnā and al-Ġūzġānī, and that the version in al-Qiftī/Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a represents a recasting of those original texts, likely undertaken by al-Qiftī. Al-Bayhaqī's version of the narrative is most certainly a retelling. Now, the text of the independent Sargudašt may have gone through a recension process (the critical nature of such an endeavor implied in the term recension must be regularly recalled), but the recast versions of al-Qiftī/Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a and al-Bayhaqī cannot be considered a part of that process.

⁵⁴ Gohlman did not indicate that, in this MS, the Complex is concluded with a *ḥamdala* after the title in the Longer Bibliography that Gohlman has numbered 72; the remaining entries of the bibliography are found in the right and upper margin of f. 317v. It is not clear whether the scribe simply missed the remaining titles in his first copying and added them upon collation with his archetype (an unlikely possibility considering how much additional material there was to copy) or if the remaining titles derive from another exemplar altogether from which the scribe later added more titles.

includes the Shorter Bibliography,⁵⁵ but all contain the Longer Bibliography. Finally, we have also seen that one manuscript family of al-Bayhaqī's *Tatimma* contains a longer bibliography that differs with the Longer Bibliography of the independent Sargudašt and from the Longer Bibliography in Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a. This longer bibliography in manuscripts of the *Tatimma* can be dated to 639/1241-2 on the basis of its earliest exemplar (Murad Molla 1408). The version of the Autobiography/Biography Complex found in al-Qifṭī and Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a evinces enough substantive variation in relation to the independent Sargudašt to have led Gohlman to suggest that the Complex in those two works was "revised," and he has suggested that al-Qifṭī may have undertaken this revision (p. 5). Much more work will have to be undertaken to determine the precise relationship that obtains amongst the extant exemplars of the Sargudašt, but very preliminary observations by Gohlman suggest that the three manuscripts he used are heavily contaminated (pp. 5-6).

In relation to the title al-Mubāḥaṭāt, the facts are as follows. First, al-Bayhaqī, writing in the first half of the 6th/12th century uses the title al-Mabāḥiṭ. Second, the Ṣignāhī codex, compiled around the same time that al-Bayhaqī was writing and the only truly dateable piece of early evidence we have from the actual manuscripts of Mubāḥaṭāt materials, employs the title al-Mubāḥaṭāt. Third, the Longer Bibliography appended to the earliest extant exemplar of the Sargudašt, copied in 588/1192, lists the title al-Mubāḥaṭāt. These facts provide us with enough general information to suggest that the titles al-Mabāḥiṭ and al-Mubāḥaṭāt were both in circulation in the first half of the 6th/12th century, but by the second half of that century the title al-Mubāḥaṭāt had become the standard one for any bibliographic work by scholars. We have no conclusive evidence to predate the title al-Mubāḥaṭāt to the latter half of the 5th/11th century.

However, it has been suggested by Gohlman that the Shorter Bibliography in al-Ġūzġānī's Biography in the al-Qifṭī/Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a version was actually compiled by al-Ġūzġānī.⁵⁶ And it contains the title al-Mubāḥaṭāt. If this is in fact the case, we would have to believe that by the time of Ibn Sīnā's death in 428/1037, if not before, al-Ġūzġānī was aware of a collection of correspondence between Ibn Sīnā and Bahmanyār entitled al-Mubāḥaṭāt. But, as we have seen, the manuscript evidence for the Mubāḥaṭāt materials contradicts this supposition, as does the version of this bibliography in al-Bayhaqī's *Tatimma*. Indeed, Bahmanyār himself does not appear to have been aware of the title al-Mubāḥaṭāt for his collection of correspondence

⁵⁵ It is clear that the Shorter Bibliography in Tehran University 2441, not used by Gohlman, was composed on the basis of the longer bibliography in the later recension of al-Bayhaqī's *Tatimma*.

⁵⁶ Gohlman, introduction, p. 7.

with his master, according to the manuscript information of Bahmanyār's recension (MS E).

Now, it must be noted that the earliest evidence we have for a Shorter Bibliography containing the title al-Mubāḥatāt is al-Qifṭī's biographical collection, and that is likely to be dated to between 624 and 646/1227 and 1248.⁵⁷ By this time, according to the manuscript evidence, a variety of recensions circulated under the title Kitāb al-Mubāḥatāt, and the Longer Bibliography of the Sargudašt in circulation at the end of the 6th/12th century also contained this title (i.e., after al-Bayhaqī and aṣ-Ṣignāhī). Clearly, a great deal more bibliographical information (trustworthy and untrustworthy) was available to al-Qifṭī by this time; this increase can be dated to the latter half of the 6th/12th century with the appearance of the copy of the Sargudašt that contains the appended Longer Bibliography.

There are two questions that must be raised in this context. The first is which of the two bibliographies, al-Bayhaqī's or al-Qifṭī's, truly reflects an earlier Shorter Bibliography. The second is whether or not we can actually ascribe such an earlier Shorter Bibliography to al-Ġūzġānī at all. Despite our confidence in al-Bayhaqī's bibliographical information, we are forced to investigate the relative worth of the varying information presented by al-Bayhaqī and al-Qifṭī for the simple reason that it is generally agreed that both are based upon an earlier version of the Complex, and both record a bibliography in the same place in their respective versions of al-Ġūzġānī's Biography. But this need not necessarily mean that al-Ġūzġānī's original Biography contained anything resembling a Shorter Bibliography.

The fact that al-Bayhaqī recorded a bibliography in the same location in his retelling of al-Ġūzġānī's Biography as al-Qifṭī would later in his "revision" of al-Ġūzġānī's Biography indicates that by the time al-Bayhaqī was writing, i.e., the mid-6th/12th century, a bibliography was to be found in that location in at least one recension of al-Ġūzġānī's Biography, i.e., the recension al-Bayhaqī used for his retelling. The fact that al-Bayhaqī's and al-Qifṭī's bibliographies display differences in content and order indicates that this Shorter Bibliography was an unstable element in the textual transmission of the Biography. In weighing the reliability of the collective data provided by al-Bayhaqī and al-Qifṭī, it should not be assumed that simply because al-Bayhaqī's version of the Complex is a substantial reworking of the *narrative* of the Complex⁵⁸ the bibliography that he recorded is less authoritative than other versions of the Complex, especially al-Qifṭī's revision. It has been noted above that al-Bayhaqī himself appears to have more knowledge about

⁵⁷ Al-Qifṭī died in 646/1248; for the terminus post quem, see Lippert's edition of *Taʾrīḥ al-ḥukamāʾ*, *Einleitung*, p. 8.

⁵⁸ Al-Bayhaqī's "reworking" can be characterized in part by the inclusion of unverifiable biographical information on Ibn Sīnā, and the transposition of Ibn Sīnā's first person Autobiography to a third person account.

Ibn Sīnā's works than is displayed in the bibliography he reproduces in his retelling of the Complex; in particular he knew of a work entitled al-Mabāḥiṭ but the bibliography he reproduces contains neither of the titles, al-Mabāḥiṭ or al-Mubāḥaṭāt. It is likely then that al-Bayhaqī did not tamper with the contents of the bibliography that he reproduced. The case of al-Qifṭī, however, is very different. He was writing nearly a century after al-Bayhaqī; he most likely had access to bibliographies of Ibn Sīnā's works that had grown exponentially since al-Bayhaqī's time (including, perhaps, the Longer Bibliography of the Sargudašt in Istanbul University A.Y. 4755 which lists al-Mubāḥaṭāt); and he displays no independent knowledge of Ibn Sīnā's works in the manner in which al-Bayhaqī does.⁵⁹

What of the authenticity of the Shorter Bibliography itself as a product of al-Ġūzġānī's bibliographical efforts? The Shorter Bibliography found in al-Qifṭī/Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a does not appear in the manuscripts of the independently transmitted Sargudašt used by Gohlman for his edition. But the introductions to the Longer Bibliography in some of the manuscripts of the Sargudašt and in Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a's biography present conflicting evidence. The earliest manuscript of the Sargudašt, MS *B of Gohlman's edition,⁶⁰ i.e., Istanbul University A.Y. 4755, dated 588/1192 and lacking the Shorter Bibliography, simply introduces the Longer Bibliography with the words: "And this is as complete a list of his books as was found."⁶¹ However, MSS *A, *J, and *N,⁶² all much later than MS *B, state: "The bibliography that Abū 'Ubayd al-Ġūzġānī listed in his Biography contained about forty works. But I endeavored to verify what he composed and in the [following] list, I have set down what I found which, added to Abū 'Ubayd's list, comes to about ninety titles." Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a introduces his version of the Longer Bibliography with the statement: "These are some of the books by aš-Šayḥ ar-Ra'īs as we found them, other than those listed previously by Abū 'Ubayd al-Ġūzġānī." These three versions of the Longer Bibliography, each introduced differently, are not identical to one another, which means that

⁵⁹ It should also be recalled that the version of al-Qifṭī's *Ta'rīḥ al-ḥukamā'* available to us today is an abridgment made by Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥaṭībī az-Zawzanī a year after al-Qifṭī's death. It is significant in this regard that Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, who is said to have relied on al-Qifṭī's original work (see Lippert, op. cit., p. 12), includes the Longer Bibliography, which is absent from az-Zawzanī's abridgment. Equally important, the Shorter Bibliography in al-Qifṭī and Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a do not agree in all respects (compare the lists in the editions by Lippert and Müller, respectively), and this suggests that the Shorter Bibliography in al-Qifṭī also may not have been a stable element.

⁶⁰ The asterisk preceding the manuscript sigla used by Gohlman is employed here in order that they not be confused with the sigla used in the present study.

⁶¹ Gohlman, 90, note to lines 1-4.

⁶² MS *N represents a unique case in that it is a later version of the Complex compiled by Yaḥyá ibn Aḥmad al-Kāšī (d. after 754/1353-4) but which appears to be a copy of a manuscript perhaps used by al-Qifṭī (see Gohlman's discussion, p. 2).

we have at least three versions of the Longer Bibliography.⁶³ More importantly for our purposes, however, is the statement found in MSS *A, *J, and *N of the Sargudašt. These MSS do not contain the Shorter Bibliography found in some versions of al-Ġūzġānī's Biography but curiously they do make reference to it. However, the earliest MS of the Sargudašt makes no such reference. Now either that earliest MS eliminated both the Shorter Bibliography and any reference to it, or the other three MSS are based on an exemplar that contained that Shorter Bibliography but which was then eliminated, or they are contaminated from the tradition represented by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a's version of the Complex.⁶⁴

The fact that al-Bayhaqī produces a shorter bibliography as part of his version of the Complex suggests that at least one family of the Sargudašt may have contained a shorter bibliography, since it should be clear now that such a bibliography did not originate with al-Bayhaqī. The most likely explanation for these problems is that there were two versions of an independent Complex, one with a Shorter Bibliography and one without; the former was drawn upon by al-Bayhaqī and al-Qifṭī with varying degrees of exactness, and the latter would have appended to it a Longer Bibliography by the end of the 6th/12th century. It is most likely that al-Bayhaqī reproduced that Shorter Bibliography as he found it. But once the Longer Bibliography made its appearance at the end of the 6th/12th century, it was probably drawn upon by biographers like al-Qifṭī who wanted to retain a Shorter Bibliography but also wanted to update it with the latest bibliographical information.

Thus there is no reason to claim that the citation of the title al-Mubāḥatāt in the Shorter Bibliography preserved in the al-Qifṭī/Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a tradition can be traced back to a bibliography purportedly compiled by al-Ġūzġānī.

III.A.c. *The Authenticity of a Shorter Bibliography by al-Ġūzġānī.*

These issues naturally lead to the question of the authenticity of the Ġūzġānī Shorter Bibliography. Al-Ġūzġānī's own characterization of his role in Ibn Sīnā's intellectual life has been discussed in Chapter One, Part One; it is worth examining the nature and intention of his Biography of Ibn Sīnā in light of that characterization to determine the authenticity of the Shorter Bibliography ascribed to him. It is important to emphasize in this regard that al-Ġūzġānī's Biography is not a comprehensive account of Ibn Sīnā's life in all its facets. Indeed al-Ġūzġānī begins his Biography at the point in Ibn Sīnā's life at which Ibn Sīnā concludes his Autobiography by stating:

⁶³ However, it is unlikely that each of the three lists was compiled in isolation from one another; more likely is a tradition of contamination and scribal addition amongst the three.

⁶⁴ That contamination may ultimately be traceable to the Qifṭī version from which Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a constructed his entry on Ibn Sīnā.

“from here is what *I* witnessed of his circumstances” (Gohlman, p. 44/45). This quality of insularity in al-Ġūzġānī’s Biography of his master, that is, the almost single-minded concentration or emphasis on his own role in Ibn Sīnā’s life is evident in a variety of ways. Al-Ġūzġānī provides the names of only the rulers, patrons, and celebrated colleagues of Ibn Sīnā; he never names Ibn Sīnā’s close friends or disciples (indeed the only time Ibn Sīnā’s disciples are mentioned is collectively under the rubric “[students] other than me,” *ġayrī*; Gohlman, p. 60/61); not even Ibn Sīnā’s brother, to whom Ibn Sīnā dedicated *Kitāb al-Hidāya*, and who accompanied him on his secretive flight from Hamaḍān, is mentioned by name.

Al-Ġūzġānī’s emphasis on his own role in inspiring Ibn Sīnā to write accords with this intention: Ibn Sīnā’s first monograph on logic was the result of al-Ġūzġānī’s request to take dictation on logic from his master (Gohlman, p. 44/45); and he accords himself a major role in initiating and nurturing the composition of Ibn Sīnā’s single most comprehensive philosophical summa, the *Šifāʾ* (Gohlman, pp. 54/55, 58/59). While we know that Ibn Sīnā engaged in numerous correspondences with other scholars, not least of all the texts of the Mubāḥaṭāt, al-Ġūzġānī places emphasis on only one in the narrative of his Biography, scil. the letter to the scholars of Šīrāz on logic, because it was he who kept vigil with Ibn Sīnā on the night of its composition and was asked by Ibn Sīnā to deliver it to Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī in the morning. Al-Ġūzġānī also highlights his role in Ibn Sīnā’s astronomical research; he tells us that it was he whom Ibn Sīnā appointed to select the instruments and hire the artisans to make them, as a result of which Ibn Sīnā was able “to amass many [astronomical] research questions.”⁶⁵

This central role that al-Ġūzġānī accords himself in his Biography and the emphasis he places on recounting the events of his master’s life that he himself participated in and occasionally directed undoubtedly influenced the choice of Ibn Sīnā’s works he would mention in the course of his narrative. And the very discussion of those works is woven into that account. In al-Ġūzġānī’s Biography, Ibn Sīnā’s works are discussed in reference to the events of Ibn Sīnā’s life after al-Ġūzġānī met him in Ġurġān, and al-Ġūzġānī is careful to provide the historical context of the composition of those works. Understood in this light, the Shorter Bibliography completely disrupts the flow of the narrative. In that narrative, al-Ġūzġānī has just mentioned Ibn Sīnā’s stay in Ġurġān and the works he composed there; those works are contrasted with Ibn Sīnā’s “remaining works...written in al-Ġībāl (Gohlman, p. 44/45). The Shorter Bibliography is next introduced as a list of all of Ibn

⁶⁵ The reading preserved in al-Bayhaqī, *ḥattā ẓafīra bi-kaṭīrin mina l-masāʾili* (Šafīʿ, 64.12), is preferable to the text in Gohlman, *ḥattā ẓuhira kaṭīrun mina l-masāʾili* (66.9-10/67.11-12) and Gohlman’s translation is incorrect anyway (he translated a *ḥattā* + perfect verb as though it were a *ḥattā* + subjunctive).

Sīnā's works, and then the narrative returns (*tumma*, "then...") to the events of Ibn Sīnā's life, specifically his move from Ġurġān to Rayy.

Equally peculiar are the contents of the Shorter Bibliography. This supposedly comprehensive list of Ibn Sīnā's works repeats three of the four titles al-Ġūzġānī has just mentioned, but neglects the fourth and, in addition, does not list two other works al-Ġūzġānī mentions later in the Biography.⁶⁶ The first three of the works of the Shorter Bibliography are those that Ibn Sīnā has himself mentioned in his Autobiography and in the same order: *al-Maġmūʿa* (i.e., the compilation for al-ʿArūḍī), *al-Ḥāṣil wa-l-maḥṣūl*, and *al-Birr wa-l-iṭm*. But al-Ġūzġānī does not mention those works in the narrative of his Biography, because they were written before he met Ibn Sīnā. And while there are numerous works that al-Ġūzġānī could have mentioned in the course of his narrative but does not (such as Ibn Sīnā's final treatise *Risāla fī kalām ʿalā n-naḥs an-nāṭīqa* to name but one), if he were compiling a comprehensive list of Ibn Sīnā's works, one would expect him to have included them in that list.

Al-Ġūzġānī's Biography of his master was not designed to contain a comprehensive list of Ibn Sīnā's corpus; this is why the peculiarities of the Shorter Bibliography are all the more apparent. But when we consider the possibility that the Shorter Bibliography was the work of a later scholar who had some (but certainly not a comprehensive) knowledge of the titles of Ibn Sīnā's works, the peculiarities of the location and contents of that Shorter Bibliography can be resolved. The choice of its location is explained by the fact that al-Ġūzġānī has just made a general statement about Ibn Sīnā's "remaining works" as opposed to specific titles composed in Ġurġān, and so there is a suitable place in which to insert a catalogue. The attempt to be comprehensive (it is introduced as a list of *all* of Ibn Sīnā's works) accounts for the repetition of titles embedded in the narrative of Ibn Sīnā's Autobiography and al-Ġūzġānī's Biography; its failure to be comprehensive is in part the result of a cursory reading of al-Ġūzġānī's Biography (the two works not included in the Shorter Bibliography but which are found in al-Ġūzġānī's Biography are not given titles in the latter and so were not added to the former). Whatever its original contents, the Shorter Bibliography was not composed by al-Ġūzġānī, but it was a part of the Complex at some point before al-Bayhaqī drew it. Al-Bayhaqī's version of the Shorter Bibliography most likely represents the contents as he found them; by the time al-Qifṭī drew upon the Complex, those contents had become thoroughly unstable.

In conclusion, the earliest extant exemplar of the independently transmitted Sargudašt does not contain a Shorter Bibliography as part of al-Ġūzġānī's Biography. The shorter bibliography found in what likely represents the original recension of al-Bayhaqī's *Tatimma* does not contain the title al-

⁶⁶ See the comparison of al-Bayhaqī's bibliography and the Shorter Bibliography above.

Mubāḥaṭāt. The earliest attestation of the title al-Mubāḥaṭāt in a version of the Shorter Bibliography of al-Ġūzġānī's Biography is found in al-Qiftī's biographical collection, composed sometime in the first half of the 7th/13th century. All of the various Longer Bibliographies contain the title al-Mubāḥaṭāt; the earliest of these was compiled sometime around 588/1192. The only two attestations outside of the evidence from the extant manuscripts of Mubāḥaṭāt materials that can be dated with reasonable certainty, then, are al-Bayhaqī's references to the title al-Mabāḥiṭ in his *Tatimma*, completed around 553/1158-9,⁶⁷ and the title al-Mubāḥaṭāt in the Longer Bibliography of the earliest extant exemplar of the Sargudašt, dated 588/1192.

IV. PUTATIVE CONTEMPORARY CITATIONS OF THE MUBĀḤAṬĀT

IV.A. *The Ibn Sīnā—Abū Saʿīd Correspondence*

IV.A.a. *Background*

A fruitful area of investigation for future modifications to the historical transmission of Ibn Sīnā's works is the series of ten texts collectively referred to here as the Ibn Sīnā—Abū Saʿīd correspondence. A thorough study of all of these texts, which would include a survey of the extant external references to this putative correspondence, a detailed description of its genesis and development, and, most importantly, a textual analysis of a number of the texts to determine the authenticity of their ascription to Ibn Sīnā, clearly lies beyond the scope of this study.⁶⁸ However, the fact that some of the Mubāḥaṭāt materials were incorporated into this correspondence and, more importantly, the fact that two of the letters refer to a Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt, ostensibly cited by Ibn Sīnā, require that some due consideration be directed toward these problematic entries in Ibn Sīnā's bibliography.⁶⁹

It has been shown in the preceding chapter that two of the independently circulating fascicles of Mubāḥaṭāt materials were at some point appropriated for the Ibn Sīnā—Abū Saʿīd correspondence.⁷⁰ Their precise place in the philosophical discussions undertaken by Ibn Sīnā and his students is problematic, and it is perhaps for this reason that they could be easily taken over by a recensor intent on producing a textual tradition for the incorporation of

⁶⁷ The longer bibliography in later manuscripts of the *Tatimma* cannot be attributed to al-Bayhaqī because its inclusion of the title al-Mubāḥaṭāt is not consonant with the other citations of al-Mabāḥiṭ in al-Bayhaqī's *Tatimma*.

⁶⁸ I am preparing a study of these aspects of the Correspondence along with edited texts of the letters; for now, a brief presentation of the letters with a few tentative conclusions can be had in Y. Michot's *Ibn Sīnā, Lettre au vizir Abū Saʿīd*, pp. *58-*63, n. 4. Michot has also edited and translated one of the letters (*Risālat al-Qaḍāʾ*) in the same work, Appendice I, pp. 102-8.

⁶⁹ All ten texts of the correspondence are listed in Mahdavi 4a-y.

⁷⁰ Chapter One, Part Two, Section I.A.c.1, and I.A.e.

Ibn Sīnā's philosophy into a later pseudo-philosophical mystical trend.

The first of these fascicles is *Question on Kitāb an-Nafs*.⁷¹ The four extant exemplars of this question and response which, in fascicle form, fall outside the codices of Mubāḥaṭāt materials, attribute the question to Abū Saʿīd. But the question and response is also found in the early Ṣignāḥī recension (MS C), three of the Earlier Recensions (MSS Y,⁷² A, L1), and in the Later Recension.⁷³ Significantly, it is not found in Bahmanyār's recension (MS E) and it is not preceded by a *ṭ* in the Later Recension, which means it was not transcribed from the hands of Ibn Sīnā, Bahmanyār, or Ibn Zayla. However, the issue raised in the question and response appears regularly in the Mubāḥaṭāt materials.⁷⁴ The fact that the question and response is not to be found in Bahmanyār's recension suggests that the questioner may be Ibn Zayla, to whom another question about a passage in *Kitāb an-Nafs* preceding this one is explicitly attributed by Bahmanyār.⁷⁵

The second of these independently transmitted fascicles of Mubāḥaṭāt materials is more difficult to situate in the Mubāḥaṭāt Recensions. In the independent tradition, it exists as one of nine segments, or passages, by Ibn Sīnā in two MSS,⁷⁶ and is entitled by Mahdavī (4y) *Li-kulli ḥayawān wa-nabāt ṭabāt*; in these manuscripts there is no mention of Abū Saʿīd in connection with the passage. Only in the 11th/17th century manuscript Miškāt 339 do we find the introductory question attributed to Abū Saʿīd.⁷⁷ The passage also appears in the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension of Mubāḥaṭāt materials. And in both the Earlier and Later Recensions, we find Bahmanyār, in a challenge to Ibn Sīnā, citing part of it, which he says Ibn Sīnā wrote in "another section (*faṣl*)," a term he regularly used to refer to parts of his correspondence with Ibn Sīnā.⁷⁸ The issue is raised also in MII (Bīdārfar 37-42), a letter whose authenticity and attribution to the Ibn Sīnā—Bahmanyār correspondence are incontestable.

Two other entries in the Ibn Sīnā—Abū Saʿīd correspondence can now also be properly identified. The so-called *Qaḍāʾ Allāh taʿālā* (Mahdavī 4ṭ) was expropriated from Ibn Sīnā's *Lisān al-ʿarab*, as I. Yarshater has demonstrated in the introduction to his edition of the extant portions of the work under the title *Risāla fī l-luḡa*.⁷⁹ And the so-called *al-Iršād* (Mahdavī 4z) is

⁷¹ See Chapter One, Part Two, Section I.A.g.1-4.

⁷² MS Y omits the final passage corresponding to Bīdārfar 709.

⁷³ See Bīdārfar 707-709 for the edited version of MS B.

⁷⁴ The issue is whether a corporeal instrument can contain a universal form; see Bīdārfar 17-19, 212-215, 216, 242-3.

⁷⁵ See Bīdārfar 591; MS E, f. 225. pen.

⁷⁶ See Chapter One, Part Two, Section I.A.c, W2.b. Segment Nine.

⁷⁷ See Chapter One, Part Two, Section I.A.c., W2.b., Later Exemplars, 2.

⁷⁸ See the references in Chapter One, Part Two, Section I.A.c., W2.b. Segment Nine.

⁷⁹ "Risāla fī l-luḡa", *Panḡ Risāla*, introduction, pp. 2-3; for the extract, see pp. 10ff. Michot,

actually a re-working of a passage from ‘Ayn al-Quḍāt’s *at-Tamhīdāt*.⁸⁰

In fact, it is very likely that we can trace the origin of the myth of a correspondence between Ibn Sīnā and Abū Sa‘īd to ‘Ayn al-Quḍāt’s “reveries” in his *at-Tamhīdāt*, where we first find any mention of such an unlikely epistolographic relationship.⁸¹ Importantly, a letter to Abū Sa‘īd on *zuhd* is listed in the earliest exemplar of the Longer Bibliography of Ibn Sīnā’s works (Istanbul University A.Y. 4755; see Gohlman, 110/111). This exemplar is dated 588/1192 and that date falls after the composition of ‘Ayn al-Quḍāt’s *at-Tamhīdāt*. After ‘Ayn al-Quḍāt the project was taken up by anonymous scholars who added yet other specimens of the correspondence, culled from both authentic and spurious texts, and at one point ordered sequentially through the introduction of epistolary elements attributed to Ibn Sīnā and Abū Sa‘īd.

Three characteristic constituents of the Ibn Sīnā—Abū Sa‘īd correspondence are discernible in the identification of these four entries: texts that were composed by Ibn Sīnā and appropriated for the correspondence (the first three texts mentioned above); and texts that are not by Ibn Sīnā (‘Ayn al-

who edited the letter (*Ibn Sīnā, Lettre au vizir*, op. cit.) was not aware of this connection. The treatise that precedes the *Qaḍā’ Allāh ta‘ālā* in Miškāt 339, entitled *Sirr al-qadar* by Maḥdavi (4h) and edited by G. Hourani in “Ibn Sīnā’s Essay on the Secret of Destiny,” and to both of whose manuscript lists we can add Isfahan University 1048 (see Dānišpažūh, *Mikrūfīlm-hā*, 1:707) is also part of the Ibn Sīnā—Abū Sa‘īd correspondence, but is probably not authentic Ibn Sīnā, despite Hourani’s attempts to address the confused argumentation he observed in the treatise through the application of Straussian hermeneutics. More likely is the possibility that *Sirr al-qadar* was confused with the authentic Ibn Sīnā treatise *Risālat al-qadar* (Maḥdavi 100). Whatever the final determination concerning the attribution of *Sirr al-qadar* to Ibn Sīnā, we can be relatively certain that the questioner who initiated the composition was not Abū Sa‘īd, for there would appear to be no explanation as to why a sufi such as Abū Sa‘īd would ask a philosopher such as Ibn Sīnā “what the sufis mean by their statement ‘whoever knows the secret of destiny has apostatized’.” Finally, contrary to Maḥdavi’s claim (idem, p. 9) that the introductory question in *Sirr al-qadar* in MSS Miškāt 339 and Rampur Hikma 82 is preceded by a *ṭ*, which abbreviation in MS B of the Mubāḥaṭāt materials indicates transcription from the hands of Ibn Sīnā, Ibn Zayla, or Bahmanyār, my examination of those manuscripts indicates that it is not.

⁸⁰ Maḥdavi 4z, *al-Iršād (az-Zuhd)*. The original text by ‘Ayn al-Quḍāt al-Hamaḍānī is found in his *at-Tamhīdāt*, printed in *Muṣannafāt-i ‘Ayn al-Quḍāt Hamadānī*, ed. ‘Afif ‘Usayrān, pp. 349-50. Curiously, ‘Ayn al-Quḍāt introduces his report by referring his reader to Ibn Sīnā’s *al-Adḥawīya fī l-ma‘ād* for the “original” text. Not surprisingly, the reference is spurious. He also makes reference to a work by Abū Sa‘īd entitled *al-Maṣābīḥ* or *al-Miṣbāḥ*, though neither title is to be found in the two hagiographies of Abū Sa‘īd (Ġamāl ad-Dīn Abū Rawḥ Luṭfullāh, *Hālāt u suḥanān-i šayḥ Abū Sa‘īd*, and Muḥammad ibn Nūr ad-Dīn Munawwar, *Asrār at-tawḥīd*, transl. John O’Kane, *The Secrets of God’s Mystical Oneness*). Fritz Meier (*Abū Sa‘īd-i Abū l-Ḥayr*, p. 26), following M.T. Dānišpažūh, the first modern scholar to study the correspondence in any detail, if credulously (“Pāsuḥ-i Ḥwāḡah-yi Ra’īs Abū ‘Alī Sīnā [*sic*] bi-pursāš-i Abī Sa‘īd-i Abī l-Ḥayr”), considers the existence, let alone the attribution, of the work “doubtful.”

⁸¹ Dānišpažūh, “Pāsuḥ-i Ḥwāḡah-yi Ra’īs-i Abū ‘Alī Sīnā,” p. 5, incorrectly thought ‘Ayn al-Quḍāt was citing Aḥmad Ġazālī for the correspondence; my examination of the relevant part of the *Tamhīdāt* indicates that ‘Ayn al-Quḍāt’s reference to Aḥmad belongs with a preceding discussion.

Quḍāt's *at-Tamhīdāt* extract);⁸² finally, in the case of the first two texts mentioned above, the creation of an epistolary framework that makes reference to Abū Sa'īd. A fourth characteristic is discernible in the analysis below of the two letters that make reference to a Kitāb al-Mubāḥatāt: in cases in which there was an original epistolary framework, the substitution of Abū Sa'īd's name for the original recipient. There are thus two aspects to the analysis of the letters of the correspondence in which we find the reference to Kitāb al-Mubāḥatāt: a determination of the authenticity of the epistolary framework which identifies the letters as part of the Ibn Sīnā—Abū Sa'īd correspondence; and a determination of the authenticity of the attribution of the letters themselves to Ibn Sīnā.⁸³

IV.A.b. *The Ta'alluq an-naḥs bi-l-badan in Context*

The two letters that contain the reference to a Kitāb al-Mubāḥatāt are found in three manuscript codices as part of a series of five letters;⁸⁴ in other manuscripts, the two letters are found separately or not in the order of the five-letter series and, in the case of the second letter, in two different versions. The two letters that concern us here are those provisionally titled by Maḥdavī as *Ta'alluq an-naḥs bi-l-badan* (Maḥdavī 4b), and *al-Mu'āwada*

⁸² In the case of the 'Ayn al-Quḍāt passage, it is clear that 'Ayn al-Quḍāt is the author of the passage, which was then appropriated and re-worked for the correspondence. It is also possible that one of the inventors of the correspondence may have composed texts specifically for the correspondence. There are thus two divisions of inauthentic materials: unintentional forgeries and intentional forgeries.

⁸³ In addition to the letters addressed here, Maḥdavī lists *al-Qiyās* (4a), *Sabab Iğābat ad-du'ā' wa-kayfiyat az-ziyāra wa-ta'tīruhā* (4d), and *Ḥuṣūl 'ilm wa-ḥikma* (4w). *Al-Qiyās* has been edited and studied by M. T. Dānišpažūh, "Pāsuḥ-i Ibn-i Sīnā" (I thank H. Landolt for providing me a copy of this article), and shares the characteristic of existing in only late exemplars with the *Ta'alluq an-naḥs bi-l-badan* to be discussed here. The *Sabab Iğābat ad-du'ā'* is published in M.A.F. Mehren's *Traité mystiques*, on the basis of MS British Mus. Add. 16, 659, and in H. 'Āṣī, *at-Tafsīr al-qur'ānī*, pp. 283-288, on the basis of MSS Ahmet III 3447, Fatih 5380, and Zāhirīya 5433 (note that the manuscript plate on page 282 is not of Ahmet III 3447 but of Zāhirīya 5433), and elsewhere (see Daiber, *Bibliography*, 1:481). There are actually two different texts referred to as the *Sabab*, one made up of extracts of the *Ta'liqāt* (ed. Badawī pp. 48, 150, 152), the other the edited letter. Maḥdavī 4d has noted the similarity between the content of this letter and one by Ibn al-Muṭahhar, cited in the Rašīd ad-Dīn Faḍl Allāh—Ġamāl ad-Dīn Šarafšāhī correspondence. See also Gutas, "Avicenna's Library," p. 14, who questions its attribution to Ibn Sīnā. If the *Ḥuṣūl* (see two published versions in the Cairo 1912 edition of the *Nağāt*, pp. 11-15, and in M. Bahā' ad-Dīn al-Āmilī's *al-Kaškūl*, pp. 355-7) is by Ibn Sīnā, then the recipient of the letter is most likely Ibn Zayla, also named in some MSS, and not Abū Sa'īd (the inclusion of the letter in the hagiography *Ḥālāt u suḥanān* by Abū Sa'īd's descendant Ġamāl ad-Dīn Abū Rawḥ Luṭfullāh belongs to later supplements to the manuscript tradition of the *Ḥālāt*; see Meier, op. cit., p. 27). Note also that there appear to be two versions of the *Ḥuṣūl*, one addressed to Ibn Zayla with a third more text than another, addressed to Abū Sa'īd (compare the two exemplars in codex Nuruosmaniye 4894, 246v-247r and 307r-v). It is likely that a modified version of the original letter addressed to Ibn Zayla circulated as part of the Ibn Sīnā—Abū Sa'īd correspondence.

⁸⁴ Hamidiye 1452, Nuruosmaniye 4894, and Pertev Paşa 617. The five letters are: *al-Qiyās*, *at-Ta'alluq*, *al-Mu'āwada*, *al-Fayḍ al-ilāhī*, and *Sabab iğābat ad-du'ā'*.

fī amr an-naḥs wa-l-fayḍ, also known as *Mumkin al-wuḡūd* (Mahdavi 4ḡ). Here I first describe the context of the two citations, then the manuscript traditions of the two letters, and finally present an analysis of the more peculiar aspects of the contents of *Taʿalluq an-naḥs bi-l-badan*.⁸⁵

The *Taʿalluq an-naḥs bi-l-badan* is ostensibly a reply from Ibn Sīnā to a question put to him by Abū Saʿīd. The question is as follows.

[Is] the soul connected to the body through all of [the soul's] faculties or through one of them? If it is through all of the faculties of the body (*sic*), then the loss of even one of the faculties will cause the loss of the connection. But this does not happen, as we may find most of the external senses absent, and indeed some of the internal senses, and yet life remains. If it is through just one of the faculties of the body (*sic*), then which one is it; is it one of the natural faculties, the animal faculties, or the faculties of the soul?⁸⁶

In the course of his reply, the author makes reference to three works: Ibn Sīnā's *Kitāb an-Naḥs*, the putative *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt*, and *Kitāb mā baʿd aṭ-ṭabīʿa* (i.e., *Kitāb al-Ilāhīyāt* of the *Šifāʾ*). The reference to *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt* is found as part of a comparison between nature as a principle (*mabdaʿ*) of motion and rest, and soul as a principle of the faculties in the body. The passage in part is as follows:

...it is said: the nature of water is a principle of its coldness, and other similar things. That is permissible only because the source of something's action is its subsistence and existence through it and no action can issue from it without the mediation of itself. You can verify this through your own reflection. Otherwise, consult the Principles in the books and the same question in the *Book of Discussions*.⁸⁷

This reference to a *Book of Discussions* is paralleled in the next letter in the series. The version of the *Muʿāwada* that is combined with *Taʿalluq an-naḥs bi-l-badan* contains an introduction that we are to believe is Abū Saʿīd's response to the *Taʿalluq* and the beginning of Ibn Sīnā's reply.

(1) Then [Abū Saʿīd] wrote: Two problems came up again for the servant [i.e., Abū Saʿīd]. As for the first, you mentioned in the course of your response that 'nature cannot be a principle of the things attributed to it' up to your statement 'you can verify this through your own reflection. Otherwise, consult the Principles in the books and the same question in the *Book of Discussions*.' As for the servant [i.e., Abū Saʿīd], he still has not seen the *Book of Discussions*, so he wants more commentary on this discussion. The second problem is of the greatest importance. In a number of places you have mentioned the divine effluence (*fayḍ ilāhī*) and the effluence

⁸⁵ A detailed analysis of the philosophical stance and literary style of the author of the *Taʿalluq* has confirmed that the letter is not by Ibn Sīnā. I hope to published this analysis shortly.

⁸⁶ MS Hamidiye 1452, 22r.

⁸⁷ Ib., 25r.

from the Giver of Forms. I would anticipate from the Šayḥ ar-Raʿīs a full statement on the meaning of “divine effluence.”

(2) So the Šayḥ ar-Raʿīs responded by saying: The question concerning the return in the case of the soul (*al-muʿāwada fī amr an-naḥs*) and the effluence (*al-fayḍ*) has come to me, may God make [the recipient’s] life long, I understand now what he wanted in it and I found that perhaps he did not thoroughly reflect on what I said in the first response, so I did not pay too much attention to it. But I reflected on the reason which caused what was obscure to him to be obscure, and as for the divine effluence, we will provide the response after this, God willing; perhaps it is due to our statement about ‘thing’, scil. that it is possible in itself means that it may exist at one time but not at another....⁸⁸

The text of the *Muʿāwada* and the so-called *al-Fayḍ al-ilāhī* then follow.

None of the extant manuscripts of the *Taʿalluq an-naḥs bi-l-badan* were copied earlier than the 11th/17th century.⁸⁹ This late transmission history distinguishes the *Taʿalluq* from those letters of the correspondence that are verifiably by Ibn Sīnā but which were appropriated for the correspondence.⁹⁰ In only three manuscripts is the *Taʿalluq* combined with the texts of the *Muʿāwada* and *al-Fayḍ al-ilāhī* as part of a series of correspondence between Ibn Sīnā and Abū Saʿīd,⁹¹ although all of the exemplars of the *Taʿalluq* present the text as a letter from Ibn Sīnā to Abū Saʿīd.⁹² Significantly, the only scholium of the *Taʿalluq* that I have been able to identify is found in Mullā Ṣadrā’s (d. 1050/1640) *Asfār*, composed sometime before 1037/1638.⁹³ The date of the composition of the *Asfār* and the date of the earliest exemplar of the *Taʿalluq* (1052/1642) are perhaps noteworthy. Certainly Bahmanyār, al-Lawkarī, Faḥr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, and Naṣīr ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī, all scholars with a far-ranging knowledge of Ibn Sīnā’s works, appear to be unaware of it. Mullā Ṣadrā’s scholium is significant for what it omits. He

⁸⁸ The confused final sentence reflects the Arabic and is the result of the insertion of the reference to *al-Fayḍ al-ilāhī*. Compare the original introduction below. This translation is based on two copies of the version of the letter that were recast for the Ibn Sīnā—Abū Saʿīd correspondence, scil. Ham. 1452, and Nur. 4894, copy 1. Nur. 4894, copy 1 appears to be the better copy; Ham. 1452 has minor variants of omission.

⁸⁹ The earliest known exemplar is Tehran University 2331, dated 1052/1642.

⁹⁰ For instance, the *Muʿāwada*, which as we will see is likely a letter to Bahmanyār, is found in exemplar Istanbul University 4724, dated 669/1270-1, and the parts of the Mubāḥatāt that were incorporated into the Ibn Sīnā—Abū Saʿīd correspondence are also found in much earlier exemplars (see Chapter One).

⁹¹ These three manuscripts are: Hamidiye 1458, Nuruosmaniye 4894, and Pertev Paşa 617.

⁹² In addition to Tehran University 2441, we may add Mağlis-i Sanā 1255, dated 1091/1680 to Mahdavi’s list (Mahdavi 4b); see M.T. Dānišpažūh and Bahāʾ ad-Dīn ʿIlmī Anvārī, *Fihrist-i Kitāb-ha-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi Kitābhānah-yi Mağlis Sanā*, 1:294.

⁹³ *Al-Hikma al-mutaʿāliya fī l-asfār al-ʿaqliya al-arbaʿa* (hereafter referred to as *Asfār*), 6:159-160, with commentary. For the date of composition of the *Asfār*, see D. MacEoin, “Mullā Ṣadrā *Shīrāzī*,” EI2, 7:548a. Mullā Ṣadrā’s scholium is somewhat paraphrastic.

introduces it as from “one of [Ibn Sīnā’s] treatises,” i.e., not a letter,⁹⁴ and he makes no mention that Abū Saʿīd, for whom he shows high regard elsewhere in the *Asfār*,⁹⁵ was involved in the correspondence. Equally noteworthy is the fact that, while the scholium includes the passages in which we find the reference to Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt, it does not contain that reference. While it is reasonable to assume that Mullā Ṣadrā could have omitted the reference as not intrinsic to his use of the *Taʿalluq*, it is clear that he was aware of the relation between the passage in the *Taʿalluq* and a passage in the Mubāḥaṭāt.⁹⁶

The text referred to alternately as *al-Muʿāwada fī amr an-naḥs*, *al-Muʿāwada fī amr an-naḥs wa-l-fayḍ* (the last word an addition occasioned by the inclusion of *al-Fayḍ al-ilāhī* in the series of letters in the Ibn Sīnā—Abū Saʿīd correspondence), and *Mumkin al-wuḡūd* exists in two versions: one as an independently transmitted text without “Abū Saʿīd’s introduction” translated above; another as part of the Ibn Sīnā—Abū Saʿīd correspondence which includes “Abū Saʿīd’s introduction,” and is followed by a text entitled *al-Fayḍ al-ilāhī*. I have examined eight exemplars of these versions.

1. Independently Transmitted Version:

- i. Br. Mus. 16,659, ff. 410v-411r;
- ii. Nuruosmaniye 4894, ff. 484r-v (copy 2);
- iii. Ahmet III 3447, ff. 60v-61v;
- iv. Hamidiye 1448, ff. 417-418;
- v. Istanbul University A-1458, 238r-v.

2. Ibn Sīnā—Abū Saʿīd Correspondence:

- i. Nuruosmaniye 4894, ff. 364v-365r (copy 1);
- ii. Hamidiye 1452, ff. 27r-29r;
- iii. Pertev Paşa 617, ff. 49v-50r.

The independently transmitted version of the *Muʿāwada* in four of the MSS (i, ii, iv, v) is entitled “Letter on the soul by [Ibn Sīnā] to his student Abū ʿUbayd al-Ġūzġānī” and Ibn Sīnā refers to the recipient of the letter as *aš-Šayḥ al-Fāḍil*. In the other MS of this version (iii), there is no title, but the reference to *aš-Šayḥ al-Fāḍil* is also found. In addition to lacking “Abū Saʿīd’s introduction,” the independently transmitted version lacks any reference to an *al-Fayḍ al-ilāhī* and *al-Fayḍ al-ilāhī* does not follow. But here Ibn Sīnā’s introduction appears more integrated (compare “Abū Saʿīd’s introduction” above, paragraph two).

⁹⁴ This is not a superficial distinction. Mullā Ṣadrā is very precise elsewhere in his genre identifications of Ibn Sīnā’s works. Whenever he is genre specific in his references to identifiable letters by Ibn Sīnā, especially those that make up part of the Mubāḥaṭāt, he calls them *murāsala*; see for instance *Asfār*, 5:113

⁹⁵ See for instance *Asfār*, 7:264.

⁹⁶ See his statement in *Asfār*, 6:160.2-4, where he makes the connection with the Mubāḥaṭāt (MVa: 224-8).

The question concerning the return in⁹⁷ the case of the soul came to me, may God make aš-Šayḥ al-Fāḍil's life long, I understand now what he wanted in it and I found that perhaps he did not thoroughly reflect on what I said in the first response, so I did not pay too much attention to it. But I reflected on the reason which caused what was obscure to him to be obscure and I found that perhaps it is due to our statement about "thing," scil. that it is possible in itself means that it may exist at one time but not at another....⁹⁸

The reference to *aš-Šayḥ al-Fāḍil* is important because it provides an important clue to the real identity of the recipient of Ibn Sīnā's letter. In many of the letters that make up part of the Mubāḥatāt materials, Ibn Sīnā refers to Bahmanyār by this title.⁹⁹ We have no indication from any other source that Ibn Sīnā ever referred to al-Ġūzġānī by such a title. This evidence is quite slim, but it may indicate that the recipient of the letter was Bahmanyār and that the recipient was later misidentified as al-Ġūzġānī by an unwitting copyist, and still later changed to Abū Saʿīd as part of the invention of the Ibn Sīnā—Abū Saʿīd correspondence. We must first dispense with the peculiarities of "Abū Saʿīd's introduction" before examining additional evidence for the possibility of identifying Bahmanyār as the original recipient of the letter.

As is evident from Ibn Sīnā's original epistolary introduction to the *Muʿāwada*, the issue of the correspondence is the valid definition of "possible existence," a definition which, in Ibn Sīnā's considered opinion, is the source of the recipient's confusion. This fact must be examined in relation to the "Abū Saʿīd introduction." There, Abū Saʿīd indicates that two problems continue to plague him. The first is the discussion of nature in the *Taʿalluq*; the second is the definition of "divine effluence" (*al-fayḍ al-ilāhī*). The Ibn Sīnā of the Ibn Sīnā—Abū Saʿīd correspondence suggests that the first question will be answered in the *Muʿāwada* and that the second question will be treated by adding his treatise *al-Fayḍ al-ilāhī* after his response to the first question. A careful reading of the *Muʿāwada* indicates that there is no way in which the discussion of possible existence in the *Muʿāwada* could be construed as a response to the discussion of "nature" found in the *Taʿalluq*.¹⁰⁰ In fact, the reference to a Kitāb al-Mubāḥatāt in the *Taʿalluq* is

⁹⁷ *fī* corr. Reisman : *wa-* codd.

⁹⁸ See, for instance, Nuruosmaniye 4894, 484r

⁹⁹ Bīdārfar MI:1; MII: 32, 46; MIII: 47, 48, 66, 76. There is an indication that Ibn Zayla may have been referred to by the same title in MI (see Bīdārfar 2, p. 38, n. 14), but this lacks additional verification. Note also that the questioner in "Abū Saʿīd's introduction" refers to himself as *ḥādīm*, a title that Bahmanyār applies to himself in his correspondence with Ibn Sīnā (see Bīdārfar MVIa1:394). "Abū Saʿīd's introduction" may mask an original introduction from Bahmanyār.

¹⁰⁰ The term "nature" (*ṭabīʿa*) does appear in the *Muʿāwada*, but there it is part of the phrase "the nature of possibility" (*ṭabīʿat al-imkān*).

actually related to the statement “the source of something’s action is its subsistence and existence through it and no action can issue from it without the mediation of itself.”¹⁰¹ While this statement has bearing on the point made in the *Taʿalluq* about nature, nature itself does not play a role in the possible passages of the Mubāḥaṭāt to which the *Taʿalluq* ostensibly refers. Evidently, the inventor of the Ibn Sīnā—Abū Saʿīd correspondence was not concerned with any consistency of content within the reconstructed framework of the texts he selected.

The issue addressed in the *Muʿāwada*, which takes as its departure point the definition of “possible existence,” actually concerns the return, or resurrection, of past existents within the context of a resurrection of the soul. This is nowhere made more clear than in Ibn Sīnā’s first words in the authentic introduction: “The question concerning the return in the case of the soul came to me....” This correct identification of the issue discussed in the *Muʿāwada* allows us to further buttress the argument that the original recipient of Ibn Sīnā’s letter was Bahmanyār. Twice in the Mubāḥaṭāt materials, Bahmanyār raises the question of the return of the past existent, basing himself on Ibn Sīnā’s statement in the *Ilāhīyāt* of the *Šifāʾ*.¹⁰² Ibn Sīnā’s further discussion in the *Muʿāwada* forms an integral part of this discussion with Bahmanyār. The precise relation of the *Muʿāwada* to the passages in the Mubāḥaṭāt remains to be determined;¹⁰³ but we can state now with some certainty that the original recipient of the *Muʿāwada* was not al-Ġūzġānī, as the extant exemplars of the *Muʿāwada* indicate, nor certainly was the original recipient Abū Saʿīd, who plays no role in the Mubāḥaṭāt and most likely no role in the life or intellectual career of Ibn Sīnā, but rather was Bahmanyār. The *Muʿāwada*, then, must be included as part of the intellectual program of philosophical discussions between Ibn Sīnā and Bahmanyār.

The final text that forms this part of the putative Ibn Sīnā—Abū Saʿīd correspondence is the so-called *al-Fayḍ al-ilāhī*. The choice of this text by the creator of the correspondence was no less infortuitous. The inventor of the Ibn Sīnā—Abū Saʿīd correspondence linked the *Fayḍ* to the *Muʿāwada* through the poorly constructed “Abū Saʿīd’s introduction” to the latter work (“In a number of places you have mentioned the divine effluence and the

¹⁰¹ See the translation above.

¹⁰² See Bīdārfar 422-424, 1004, discussions inspired by *aš-Šifāʾ: al-Ilāhīyāt*, 36.7-19; related discussions in the Mubāḥaṭāt include Bīdārfar 724 (on perceiving a non-existent) as well as in the *Taʿlīqāt*, p. 79. These discussions between Ibn Sīnā and Bahmanyār are concluded in Bahmanyār’s summary in the *Taḥṣīl*, p. 290. Marmura, “Primary Concepts,” pp. 235-6, translated the *Šifāʾ* passage and identified one of the Mubāḥaṭāt passages on the basis of Badawī’s edition of the *Šīghāhī* Codex Recension, no. 44.

¹⁰³ By this I mean that the precise location it occupied in the sequence of Bahmanyār’s questions and Ibn Sīnā’s responses remains to be determined.

effluence from the Giver of Forms”), and correlated it with the statement craftlessly inserted into Ibn Sīnā’s introduction to the *Mu‘āwada* (“As for the divine effluence, we will provide the response after this”), along with the addition of a final statement at the end of the *Mu‘āwada*, “and after this [i.e., the *Mu‘āwada*], his treatise *al-Fayḍ al-ilāhī* is recorded.” The identification of this text has yet to be addressed comprehensively, but it can be stated with absolute certainty that it has nothing to do with the concept of divine effluence or divine emanation. The work is concerned with the actions and affections of the soul, veridical dreams, miracles, and blessings.¹⁰⁴ The manuscripts of the work provide a wide variety of titles. In addition to *al-Fayḍ al-ilāhī*, we find *al-Aḫḫāl wa-l-inḫilālāt*, *al-Fi‘l wa-l-inḫilāl*, and *al-Birr wa-l-iṭm*. In the very important manuscript Leiden Warn. Or. 864, the scribe notes that the work is made up of “portions found of [Ibn Sīnā’s] work known as *al-Birr wa-l-iṭm*.”¹⁰⁵ This is likely the correct identification, although the incomplete nature of the extant remains of *al-Birr wa-l-iṭm* makes it difficult to verify.¹⁰⁶ The title *al-Fayḍ al-ilāhī* is probably the creation of the inventor of the Ibn Sīnā—Abū Sa‘īd correspondence,¹⁰⁷ and the alternate titles *al-Aḫḫāl wa-l-inḫilālāt*, and *al-Fi‘l wa-l-inḫilāl* derive from the opening statement of the text and so have the mark of provisional scribal choices in the absence of an attested title.

IV.A.c. Authenticating the *Ta‘alluq an-naḥs bi-l-badan*

In the present state of research in Ibn Sīnā’s bibliography, it is difficult to authenticate or invalidate Ibn Sīnā’s composition of the *Ta‘alluq*. However, we do have some paradigms with which to work. The correct identification of other texts in the Ibn Sīnā—Abū Sa‘īd correspondence indicates that the “letters” that make up the correspondence can be divided into two categories:

¹⁰⁴ See, for example, the précis provided in Mahdavi 97 (sub *al-Fayḍ al-ilāhī*).

¹⁰⁵ Leaf 123v.2-3. This testimony is more reliable than the scribal statement in MSS Sipahsālār 1217 and Br. Mus. Add. 16, 659 “...but I don’t believe it is part of *al-Birr wa-l-iṭm*, but rather part of *al-‘Azā‘im wa-ṭ-ṭilasmāt*. However, this is how its title was found.” This scribal suggestion likely finds its origin in the use of the terms *an-nīranḡiyāt wa-ṭ-ṭilasmāt* in the *Birr wa-l-iṭm* fragment (Warn. 864, 124r.7) in which case the conflation of the *al-Birr wa-l-iṭm* and a *al-‘Azā‘im wa-ṭ-ṭilasmāt* is to be attributed to the Persian translation of (ps.-?) Ibn Sīnā’s *Nīranḡāt* as *Fī l-‘azā‘im* (see Mahdavi 210).

¹⁰⁶ It is in fact cited by Ibn Sīnā himself in his Autobiography as an ethical work (Gohlman, 40/41). The earliest independent citation of it is in the original bibliography in Bayhaqī’s *Tatimma*, before 565/1170 (Šaḫīr, p. 46), followed by the citation in the independent Sarguḏāšt in MS Istanbul University A.Y. 4755, c. 588/1192. Another issue is what relation the text discussed here has to another surviving fragment of *al-Birr wa-l-iṭm* (the manuscripts of which are listed in Mahdavi 40). The contents of both fragments will have to be analyzed to determine how they may apply to a work characterized by Ibn Sīnā as one on ethics.

¹⁰⁷ The title *al-Fayḍ al-ilāhī* seems to be attested only in later manuscripts of Bayhaqī’s *Tatimma*, where his original bibliography has been greatly expanded. See the discussion of the Bayhaqī bibliographies above.

those actually by Ibn Sīnā and those not by Ibn Sīnā. In the first case, there appears to have been either a process of extraction from one of his works (for example the *Qaḍāʾ Allāh* extracted from *Lisān al-ʿarab* and *Li-kull ḥayawān wa-nabāt ṭabāt* which is part of the *Mubāḥaṭāt*), or a process of appropriation of letters sent to one of his students (*al-Muʿāwada* and the so-called *Ḥuṣūl ʿilm wa-ḥikma*, probably written to Ibn Zayla). Of those texts not by Ibn Sīnā, the *Iršād*, a paraphrastic Arabic translation of a passage from the Persian *at-Tamhīdāt* of ʿAyn al-Quḍāt al-Hamadānī, is a fine example. If the *Taʿalluq* were written by Ibn Sīnā, then the closest comparable example would be the *Muʿāwada*. As we have seen, the content of the *Muʿāwada* appears to be directly related to questions and responses in the *Mubāḥaṭāt* and, while it is not yet clear why the *Muʿāwada* was not textually transmitted as part of the *Mubāḥaṭāt* materials, this fact is actually of use to us in a comparison of the *Taʿalluq* with the *Muʿāwada*. For since we can consider the *Muʿāwada* a text related to the *Mubāḥaṭāt* that nonetheless remained textually distinct from the collection of the *Mubāḥaṭāt*, and since the content of the *Muʿāwada* is clearly a continuation of a discussion found in the *Mubāḥaṭāt* materials, we might reasonably assume that Ibn Sīnā would have made reference to a *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt* in his response in the *Muʿāwada*. Such a citation would be comparable to the case of the *Taʿalluq*, in which we find the author making reference to “the same question in the *Book of Discussions*” in the course of his argument there. But he does not make such a reference in the *Muʿāwada* likely because the private correspondence that constitutes the present day *al-Mubāḥaṭāt* was not a collected, “published” work in Ibn Sīnā’s lifetime, as the manuscript evidence suggests.

This alone cannot serve to invalidate the attribution of the *Taʿalluq* to Ibn Sīnā for at least one other major reason: much of what we find in the *Taʿalluq* accords with Ibn Sīnā’s views on specific issues. This similarity of content, however, no more authenticates the *Taʿalluq* than do the references we find in the *Taʿalluq* to Ibn Sīnā’s works. We do have other cases of works wrongly attributed to Ibn Sīnā on the basis of the fact that much of their content coincides with Ibn Sīnā’s views. For example, J. Janssens, in his attempt to verify the attribution of *Maʿāriḡ al-quds fī madāriḡ maʿrifat an-nafs* to al-Ġazālī after it had been wrongly attributed to Ibn Sīnā, noted three characteristics of the author of the *Maʿāriḡ*:

- i. the author is very familiar with Ibn Sīnā’s works;
- ii. the author had access to much of Ibn Sīnā’s corpus;
- iii. the author exhibits a preference for Ibn Sīnā’s mature works.¹⁰⁸

All of these characteristics are equally applicable to the author of the

¹⁰⁸ See J. Janssens, “*Le Maʿārij al-quds*,” pp. 37-8, for these characteristics. Janssens adds an additional characteristic which applies only to the case of the *Maʿāriḡ* and is wholly unverifiable.

Taʿalluq. Of particular significance is the appearance of lemmata of the Mubāḥatāt in the *Maʿāriğ*.¹⁰⁹ So, neither the simple fact that the *Taʿalluq* in the main repeats ideas identifiable in some way with views held by Ibn Sīnā nor even the fact that references to Ibn Sīnā's works appear in the *Taʿalluq* are viable criteria for authentication. The *Taʿalluq*, if not by Ibn Sīnā, could have been composed by an author bearing the characteristics outlined by Janssens.

However, the cases of the *Maʿāriğ* and the *Taʿalluq* are not wholly comparable. The misattribution of the *Maʿāriğ* appears to have been an error of modern cataloguers whereas, at least from the early 11th/17th century, the period to which the earliest exemplar of the *Taʿalluq* dates, the *Taʿalluq* was attributed to Ibn Sīnā. In one respect, this difference appears to buttress the argument for attribution of the *Taʿalluq* to Ibn Sīnā; the *Taʿalluq* has a history of ascription to Ibn Sīnā and at least one 11th/17th century author (Mullā Ṣadrā) believed it to be by Ibn Sīnā. In another respect, the fact that the *Taʿalluq* can be dated only to the 11th/17th century, both in the manuscript tradition and in independent sources, would appear to buttress the argument against ascription to Ibn Sīnā. We find no title or descriptive reference for the work in any of the medieval bibliographies of Ibn Sīnā and, as noted above, no scholar possessing detailed knowledge of Ibn Sīnā's corpus earlier than Mullā Ṣadrā appears to have been aware of it.

These problems, combined with the manuscript evidence of the development of the Mubāḥatāt from a collection of private papers to a collected posthumously “published” work, are in themselves enough to raise serious doubts about the authenticity of the *Taʿalluq* with its reference to a Kitāb al-Mubāḥatāt. However, a detailed analysis of the *Taʿalluq* which properly illuminates the process of extraction and ascription of Ibn Sīnā's views and works in the process of creating a letter that could appear consonant with Ibn Sīnā's philosophy—at least superficially—allows for a relatively confident rejection of its attribution to Ibn Sīnā.

IV.B. INTERNAL REFERENCES FOR THE TITLE AL-MUBĀḤATĀT

Scattered throughout the Mubāḥatāt materials are references to the ongoing

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., pp. 33-35. This is not to suggest that al-Ġazālī is the author of the *Taʿalluq*, nor even that Janssens is entirely unequivocal in concluding the al-Ġazālī is the author of the *Maʿāriğ* (see pp. 54-5). In fact, al-Ġazālī appears to have had a more refined understanding of Ibn Sīnā's theory of the soul than the author of the *Taʿalluq* exhibits, particularly with regard to the function of the *rūḥ* in the soul-body connection, an element entirely absent from the *Taʿalluq*. Note also that al-Ġazālī (if he is the author of the *Maʿāriğ*) does not identify the Mubāḥatāt lemmata as part of a Kitāb al-Mubāḥatāt, a fact that accords with what we know about the early textual transmission of the Mubāḥatāt materials; nor does Ġazālī refer to a Kitāb al-Mubāḥatāt in any of the works properly attributed to him.

discussions which employ a variety of words and verbal conjugations associated with the root *b.ḥ.t*, “to search for, to inquire.” The references fall into three categories: general terminology; descriptive characterizations; and possible titles. The general terminology is used in an abstract sense for the process of investigating philosophical problems and employs the third form of the verb (*yubāḥiṭu*, “he discusses”), the verbal noun of the first form (*baḥṭ*, “inquiry”), and the active participle of the first form (*bāḥiṭ*, “researcher”). The descriptive characterizations include the reference by Ibn Sīnā to the actual “discussions,” *mubāḥaṭāt*, he is engaging in with his student Bahmanyār, and the reference to some preceding expository passages as *mabāḥiṭ* (sing. *mabḥaṭ*), “subjects of investigation.” Finally, there are two versions of what appears to be a title, viz. *mubāḥaṭāt aṣ-ṣadīq* and *al-mubāḥaṭāt aṣ-ṣadīqīya*.

IV.B.a. General terminology

MII:44. “I am delighted with the one [i.e., Bahmanyār] who once again¹¹⁰ took up this type of inquiry (*baḥṭ*) after a type I disapproved of, for this type of inquiry (*baḥṭ*) is suited to the Highest Science, since it is an inquiry (*baḥṭ*) based on demonstrative proofs, whereas many of the requests he made while I was in Rayy were inappropriate.”

MIII¹¹¹

51. “But as for challenging me and demanding ‘why’ from me and other appropriate things, that is my aim and goal. [I am] someone never shaken by any part of his destiny because of my confidence in what God has divulged to me and bestowed upon me such as advancement in comprehensive investigation and thorough inquiry (*baḥṭ mustaqṣan*)....”

65. “...nevertheless, such an explanation is not appropriate for every researcher (*bāḥiṭ*), but is a specific one the usefulness of which is limited to astute people....”

96. “Let the shit-eater¹¹² take this on himself, the one in error about himself, the one who puts himself not at the rank of someone who loves¹¹³ to raise disputations and discuss (*yubāḥiṭ*)....”

MIVa. [This letter does not properly belong in the *Mubāḥaṭāt* but was included as such and was presumably understood by later readers and recensors as such.]

¹¹⁰ *ḡaddadahū* read. Reis. : *ḥaddadahū* Bidārfar, Gutas (*Avicenna*, p. 59.5: “delineated”) : *ḥaddadahū* R1, Q.

¹¹¹ Cf. the translation of these passages in Michot, “La réponse,” q.vv.

¹¹² I.e. Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī

¹¹³ Reading *yaḥibbu* for *yaḡibu*.

133. "...those who are content with such a paltry amount of investigation (*baḥt*)...."¹¹⁴

MVc:391. "...we ask God for success in reaching the goal [in this] for the purposes of inquiry (*baḥt*) and investigation...."

MVIb1:501. "...your perseverance in research (*baḥt*) and investigation (*tanqīr*)...."

MVIb2

520. "Now there remains here another investigation (*baḥt*)...." [Questioner]

523. "...there remains another investigation (*baḥt*)...." [Questioner]

544. "...but it is part of another investigation (*baḥt*)...."

MVIc:604. "With regard to this [issue], there is a lengthy disquisition obvious to anyone who pursues this research (*man yabḥaṭu hādā l-baḥt*)."

MVIE:828. "...there is an investigation (*baḥt*) and statement (*kalām*) on the demonstrative proof of the impossibility of that...."

MS C additions (part of Mubāḥatāt?)

1004. "...[this] is a position that the verified inquiry (*baḥt muḥaṣṣal*) looks into...."

IV.B.b. *General Characterizations of the Materials*

MIII:45. "So let him engage in more such discussions (*mubāḥatāt*) on anything he wishes...."

MVc:382. "And perhaps these solutions that we suggest will be the sources for springs that will gush forth over many problems and great uncertainties. If that is insufficient, we will abandon this source of explanation and move on to something else. Let our colleagues consider carefully these subjects of investigation (*mabāḥit*), relying upon the guide of the True One, for he is with every diligent searcher, and his light shines on every heart."

IV.B.c. *Possible title sources*

In the Mubāḥatāt materials as a whole, we find two responses ostensibly by Ibn Sīnā, in which he makes reference to *The Friend's Discussions* (*mubāḥatāt aṣ-ṣadīq*) and *The Friendly Discussions* (*al-mubāḥatāt aṣ-ṣadīqiya*).¹¹⁵ The

¹¹⁴ Cf. Gutas, *Avicenna*, p. 68.

¹¹⁵ Both versions of the title should properly be translated *The Friend's Discussions* as it makes little difference whether the terms are placed in construct form or one is made an adjective

references are not uniform across the various recensions and so must be treated individually. With regard to the first response, some of the recensions and collections of *Mubāḥaṭāt* materials have the title reference and others do not, indicating, perhaps, an incremental recension process. In the following table, the difference between those recensions and collections that contain the title reference in Ibn Sīnā’s two responses and those that do not is underscored.

Table 3: Two Responses with Possible Title Sources			
	Response 1		Response 2
	with reference	without reference	with reference
Earlier Recensions		MSS Y, A, L1, E	MS A
Collections	MS C		MSS C, L2
Later Recension		MS B	MS B

IV.B.c.1. The First Response with “title” *mubāḥaṭāt aṣ-ṣadiq*
The first response shows marked difference between the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension and the other recensions.¹¹⁶

MS C (Badawī 269)

With regard to the simple (*basīt*), [a1] why must it be an intellect, and [a2] intellect itself, and [a3] intellect the principles that are necessarily concomitant with itself, if it has principles, [a4] and the things that follow it (*tawālīhi*)?
[Response] in his handwriting: As for [b1] why the separate simple (*basīt muğarrad*) is an intellect, and [b2] by means of what type of separation it is separate, [b3] and why it intellects itself, then enough has been written on it in *The Friend’s Discussions* (*mubāḥaṭāt aṣ-ṣadiq*). [b4] As for the concomitants, then you must know that some of them are without an outside condition and some are with an outside condition. [...]

MSS B (Bīdārfar 611-12), Y, A, L1, E

Why must the simple (*basīt*) intellect the principles that are necessarily concomitant with itself, if it has principles, and intellect the things that follow it (*tawālīhi*)?

As for the concomitants, then you must know that some of them are without an outside condition and some are with an outside condition. [...]

of the other (although this difference raises questions about the authenticity of the citations). I use the two differing translations simply to preserve the differing constructions in the Arabic

¹¹⁶ For the purposes of this discussion, I have limited manuscript references to the most important exemplars C, B, Y, A, L1, L2, E.

IV.B.c.2. The Second Response with “title” *al-mubāḥatāt aṣ-ṣadīqīya*

MS C (Badawī 274); MSS B (Bīdārfar 896), A, L2; absent from MSS Y, L1, E

Question: Can it be said that human souls have always existed since it is the case that their essences are separate from matter and it is not for the existence of their essences that they require matter and body but rather for the perfection of their essences, which they will have after [the matter or body] is gone?

Response [in his handwriting (add. MS C)]: We have already explained in *The Friendly Discussions* (*al-mubāḥatāt aṣ-ṣadīqīya*) how individuation of the nature of a single species occurs. From this it is clear that the souls of humans do not actually proliferate as individuals as long as no relation to an element (*‘unṣur*) and a position (*waḍʿ*) occurs. So it is impossible that an eternal thing’s search for perfection or its movement toward perfection ever cease entirely. Let him now be alerted.

IV.B.c.3. Analysis of the “titles”

Without considering for now the manuscript evidence and what we have learned about the recension history of the Mubāḥatāt materials in this chapter, the immediate question is how we are to understand these references. They appear to be references to another text that direct the questioner to specific issues which the respondent will not address in his present response. That they are not self-referential, i.e., that they do not refer to a different part of the same textual group in which they are found, is clear from the use of past tense verbs with *qad*: *fa-qad kutiba fī mubāḥatāt aṣ-ṣadīq*, “[enough] has already been written in *The Friend’s Discussions*” (response 1); and *qad bayyannā fī l-mubāḥatāt aṣ-ṣadīqīya*, “we have already explained in *The Friendly Discussions*” (response 2).

The use of the past tense with its consequent implication that the reference is to a text *written previously* distinguishes these two statements from the one other case in which Ibn Sīnā uses the term *mubāḥatāt* in the Mubāḥatāt materials; in a letter to Bahmanyār, Ibn Sīnā says “so let him engage in more such discussions (*mubāḥatāt*) on anything he wishes” (MIII:45). This last statement by Ibn Sīnā is no more than a comparative characterization of the type of *activity* in which he and Bahmanyār are engaged, not a title. We might add to this a similar characterization of what that activity centers around; toward the end of a series of discrete responsa, Ibn Sīnā says: “Let our colleagues consider carefully these subjects of investigation (*mabāḥit*)” (MVC:382). In neither of these cases can we draw the conclusion that the terms used to characterize the activity and the objects of that activity serve as a title for the written record of that activity in the way that the references to *mubāḥatāt aṣ-ṣadīq* or *al-mubāḥatāt aṣ-ṣadīqīya* appear to do.

Nor can we reduce the “titles” *mubāḥaṭāt aṣ-ṣadiq* and *al-mubāḥaṭāt aṣ-ṣadiqīya* to references to preceding material in the same textual group in such a way that by adding a demonstrative like “this” or “these” to the two “titles” we could understand the respondent to be referring to prior issues in the *same* collection of materials that have already “been written” or “explained.” For, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, in each instance that Ibn Sīnā refers to an earlier portion of Mubāḥaṭāt materials, he uses codicological terms. For instance, in MVIa2: 458 he says: “...according to what we explained in response to this question in another folio (*waraqa*),” and in MVIc: 666: “I wrote about this distinction in the small quire (*ḡuṣṣāḡīr*).” Such codicological terminology is complemented by Bahmanyār’s choice of the term *faṣl* (pl. *fuṣūl*) to refer to earlier written records of their discussions:

MVc:356. “What does he mean in the preceding sections (*fuṣūl mutaqaḡaddima*)...?”

MVc:360. “A reference to the *Buḡḡūr* was made in these sections (*fuṣūl*) to it....”

MVIa1:397, Bahmanyār’s Letter to Ibn Sīnā, in which he describes the organization of the material. “[P]erhaps...he [i.e., Bahmanyār] made an impetuous demand on his munificence to respond to those questions under each of the separate sections (*faṣl min al-fuṣūl*) set out in those pages joined with the letter....”

MVIa2:462. “What he [i.e., Ibn Sīnā] said in another section (*faṣl*) contradicted this....”

MVIb2:565. “It was said..., but these preceding sections (*fuṣūl mutaqaḡaddima*) do not lead to this goal.”

If we were to take the two references in Ibn Sīnā’s response at face value, we would have to posit a codicological development undertaken by the participants in the discussions for which either we possess no evidence or we possess evidence that flatly contradicts it. On the basis of these references, we would have to understand that Ibn Sīnā no longer refers to the Mubāḥaṭāt materials by use of the codicological terms he has used in the past, but rather by two slightly varying titles which he has assigned those materials. Aside from these two references, we have no record of Ibn Sīnā referring to the Mubāḥaṭāt materials by these titles, and in fact it is unlikely that he referred to the Mubāḥaṭāt materials in *any way* in another work.¹¹⁷ The evidence presented above concerning Bahmanyār’s recension of Mubāḥaṭāt materials indicates that he also did not conceive of those materials by way

¹¹⁷ On the basis of the preceding discussion concerning the *Taʿalluq an-naḡf bi-l-baḡḡan*, we can discard the evidence from that source and, as will be shown in Chapter Four, Ibn Sīnā likely wrote little else after the conclusion of his correspondence with Bahmanyār.

of a title that would include the term *mubāḥatāt*.¹¹⁸ The evidence from the Ṣignāḥī codex allows us to date the appearance of the title al-Mubāḥatāt only to the first half of the 6th/12th century. And this evidence is buttressed by our conclusions concerning the later composition of the bibliographies of Ibn Sīnā's works.

It is more than likely, then, that Ibn Sīnā himself did not refer to a *mubāḥatāt aṣ-ṣadīq* or *al-mubāḥatāt aṣ-ṣadīqīya* in these responses. It is more likely that these "titles" reflect an intermediate stage in the *recension* process of the Mubāḥatāt from the private papers and correspondence of Ibn Sīnā to a collected work known to us now as Kitāb al-Mubāḥatāt.

IV.B.c.4. Manuscript Evidence for the "titles"

The manuscript evidence for these passages illuminates this development to a certain degree, although it will require more research than is at present directed to these issues for a complete picture to emerge. The first reference, to a *mubāḥatāt aṣ-ṣadīq*, is found only in the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension (MS C), where it forms part of an introduction to the response that as a whole is not found in any of the other recensions. The question itself has also been expanded (see the comparative table above). The basic question—"Why must the simple intellect the principles that are concomitant with its essence, if it has principles, and intellect what follows it?"—has been expanded to include two additional queries: "Why must the simple be an intellect" (a1); and "Why must it intellect itself?" (a2). The introduction to the response accounts for these additions in (b1) and (b3), but adds yet another element not requested by the interlocutor: "By what type of separation is [the simple] separate?" This was called for by the addition of the qualifying adjective "separate" (*muğarrad*) to the term "simple" in the repetition of question (a1). The evidence from the other manuscripts provides the only firm basis for an analysis of these additions, for those other manuscripts include MS E, i.e., Bahmanyār's recension of Mubāḥatāt materials. These other manuscripts, including MS E, lack the additions found in the Ṣignāḥī version. The examples of the editorial techniques discernible in the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension listed in the previous chapter include one applicable here: combining multiple questions with one response. We find all of the additional

¹¹⁸ Nor is it likely that Ibn Sīnā is responding to the question of some other student and referring this other to his discussions with Bahmanyār by these titles. If Bahmanyār was unaware of these "new" titles for the Mubāḥatāt materials, there is no reason to imagine that another student would be. And who would this other student be? Not Ibn Zayla surely, as his discussions with the Master are a part of the Mubāḥatāt materials. Not Ibn Sīnā's contemporary Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī, who seems to have had less contact with Ibn Sīnā than Bahmanyār and who participates in the discussions only through the mediation of Bahmanyār. To posit any other figure as the recipient of the two responses without any evidence is mere speculation.

issues added in MS C to the original question in other parts of the Mubāḥaṭāt materials, along with the issue added to the response.

		Badawī 269 (cf. Bīdārfar 611-12)
Badawī 294 Bīdārfar 864	What is the reality and quiddity of the intellect in itself that requires that it be an intellect, an intellector, and an intelligible? For a simple reality (<i>ḥaqīqa basīṭa</i>) cannot but be an intellect, and then it follows that it be an intellect, and an intellector, and an intelligible.	With regard to the simple, why must it be an intellect,
Badawī 291 Bīdārfar 863	Do the intellects intellect their essences first and then what is necessarily concomitant with them from the existence of their principles, or is it their principles that they intellect first and from their principles, their essences?	and intellect itself, and intellect the principles that are necessarily concomitant with itself, if it has principles
Badawī 270 Bīdārfar 897	Why can it be said that it intellects what is necessarily concomitant with its essence and what follows it (<i>yatlūhu</i>)?	and intellect the things that follow it (<i>tawālin</i>)?

The issue added in the response, scil. that the simple separate is an intellect and by what type of separation it is so, is treated in Bīdārfar 142-147. Considering the fact that the edition witnessed in the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension was incomplete when copied by aṣ-Ṣignāḥī, it is impossible to determine the editor’s intention in constructing such a hybrid question and response. Conceivably, the Mubāḥaṭāt passages identified in the table above would be included in what was called *mubāḥaṭāt aṣ-ṣadiq*, but it is unclear to what work the original question and response would have been transferred.

However, this example provides us with a very clear idea of the nature of the revision of the Mubāḥaṭāt materials in the Ṣignāḥī codex; it appears that the mass of materials now found in the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension was in the process of being edited and separated into *different* works. Another example of this process may help elucidate this contention. At Bīdārfar 737-738, we find a question, perhaps by Ibn Zayla, and Ibn Sīnā’s response. In the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension (Badawī 460) Ibn Sīnā’s response has been

replaced with the statement: “The response is written in *al-mağmūʿ al-ilāhī*.” The identity of this work is unknown, although it might very well have become an entry in Ibn Sīnā’s (or Ibn Zayla’s?) bibliography if the work of the editor had been completed.¹¹⁹

Finally, it should be noted that the question at Bīdārfar 897 is almost identical to the original question, at Bīdārfar 611:

Bīdārfar 611	Bīdārfar 897
Why must the simple intellect the principles concomitant with its essence, if it has principles, and intellect what follows it?	How is it correct to say that it intellects what is concomitant with its essence and what follows it?

The response at 612 focuses on the different types of concomitants to explain how the simple [being] intellects those concomitants; the response at 897 addresses the additional explanatory comments added to the question there, concerning what is meant by the term “following.” There are a number of different types of repeat passages in the Mubāḥatāt materials.¹²⁰ This particular case appears to be an instance of an “original repetition.” The information gleaned from MV1a1, Bahmanyār’s Letter to Ibn Sīnā (Bīdārfar 397-8), indicates that at one point in the correspondence, Bahmanyār sent Ibn Sīnā two copies of the same (or similarly worded) questions. In this letter, Bahmanyār indirectly notes that the first round of Ibn Sīnā’s responses received by him were not written under the questions that he had sent him (and Ibn Sīnā’s copy probably did not include copies of Bahmanyār’s original questions), the way he had intended Ibn Sīnā to write them, and that those first responses lacked explanation or mention of the Fundamental Principles related to each issue and were in a “summary” style. He goes on to state that, because these responses had taken so long to reach him, he feared that his original questions had not been received by Ibn Sīnā, and so he has sent out a second copy of the questions (i.e., before receiving Ibn Sīnā’s first responses). Now it is very likely that Bahmanyār did not retain a copy of the original questions, so that the second set of questions, rather than being exact replicas of the first set, were worded differently and emphasized different implications of the question. This would account for the somewhat different emphases apparent in the questions at 612 and 897.

¹¹⁹ This *al-mağmūʿ al-ilāhī* probably bears some relation to the fragment in the Ṣignāhī codex entitled *min ġumlat al-mağmūʿ fi l-ilāhīyāt ʿan aš-šayḥ Abī Maṣṣūr ibn Zayla* (MS C, 206r-v). Cf. Chapter Three, Section II.C.c.4. On the problems raised by this fragment, see Gutas, “Avicenna’s Library,” no. 10.

¹²⁰ These are classified in Chapter Four and Appendix E.

But these different emphases also meant that Ibn Sīnā would respond to the second set of questions in a slightly different manner, and this accounts for the different responses to the two questions, which are essentially identical in their larger concerns. Now whether or not the editor of the Ṣignāhī Codex Recension was aware of this compositional context or, if he was, whether this would lead him to separate the Mubāḥaṭāt materials into different works, is unknowable, but the fact that many of the questions in the Mubāḥaṭāt materials appear to be repeats would certainly facilitate the process of cross-referencing with new titles that we see in that recension.

The second reference, to an *al-mubāḥaṭāt aṣ-ṣadiqīya*, differs from the first reference, to a *mubāḥaṭāt aṣ-ṣadiq*, not only in the variation of the title, but also in the referent of the title. In addition, it appears in more recensions than the first; along with the Ṣignāhī Codex Recension, we also find it in MSS B, L2, and A (all of which are likely related in the recension history). However, it does share with the first reference the fact that it probably was not made by Ibn Sīnā, but was introduced by an editor responsible for separation of the Mubāḥaṭāt materials into different works, witnessed in the Ṣignāhī Codex Recension. The response again:

We have already explained in *The Friendly Discussions* (*al-mubāḥaṭāt aṣ-ṣadiqīya*) how individuation of the nature of a single species occurs. From this it is clear that the souls of humans do not actually proliferate as individuals as long as no relation to an element (*unṣūr*) and a position (*waḍʿ*) occurs.

It is not clear whether we are to understand that the text referred to as *al-mubāḥaṭāt aṣ-ṣadiqīya* includes a theoretical discussion about individuation, the fundamental principles of which are to be applied to the specific case of the human soul raised in the question, or whether that text includes a discussion directed specifically to the individuation of the human soul. If the reference is intended to be to the Mubāḥaṭāt materials, then there are passages dealing with the individuation of the soul that can be identified.¹²¹ But the intention of the citation appears to be that the fundamental principles concerning individuation in a theoretical sense (i.e., dealing with both intelligible and actual individuation) are found in that text called *al-mubāḥaṭāt aṣ-ṣadiqīya* and can be applied to the case of the soul.

In a discussion that is returned to repeatedly by Bahmanyār (that of the constant element in plants and animals), the question of individuation is raised. In his conclusion to his first response in this series, Ibn Sīnā states “...this is explained in the chapter on individuation in the Books of *Budūr*.”¹²²

¹²¹ For example, Bīdārfar 525-6 deals with individuation in relation to the rational faculty.

¹²² The texts of this discussion have a problematic transmission history. The statement above is found in Badawī 94. Bahmanyār cites the passage at Bīdārfar 462 as originating in “another

This chapter from the so-called “Books of *Budūr*” is actually partially preserved among the Mubāḥatāt materials in the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension and in L2.¹²³ Toward the end of the extant passages we find the following, which bears comparison to a passage in *Kitāb an-Nafs* of the *Šifāʾ*.

Budūr (Badawī 498; Bīdārfar 1150)

Kitāb an-Nafs, V.3, 198.9-12, 199.8-13

[a] We say that human souls did not subsist separately from bodies and then came about in bodies, because human souls agree in species and idea. So when it is posited that they have an existence that does not come to be with the origination of bodies, but is rather a separate existence, then the soul cannot be multiple in that existence, because things multiply either from the quiddity and form or from the *relation to the element and the matter* is multiplied by the places which include all matter in some way and the times particular to each one of them in its origination and the causes that divide them. But souls are not mutually distinct through quiddity and form, because their form is one. Thus they are mutually distinct because of what receives the quiddity or what the quiddity is related to through the particularization, and this is the body....

Multiple individuals do not proliferate through concomitant accidents (*ʿrād lāzima*) belonging to the species; *otherwise everything would share in them* and there would be no multiplicity. Thus, they individuate through *consequential accidents* (*ʿrād lāḥiqa*), and consequential accidents attach from a *temporal beginning*, because consequential accidents follow upon a cause that happens to some individuals but not others, and the occurrence of the cause which these individualized consequential attributes follow upon would be through another cause, ad infinitum; so such a thing is through movement, and so is originated. And what necessitates this is that it occurs to some and not others, so it necessarily follows that it is through a cause. Likewise that cause would need another until it goes on infinitely, and so it necessarily follows that it is through movement, and so it is originated. As for positing that this occurs to all [and not just some], none of that necessarily follows.

[b] We say in another way: These souls are individuated from the totality of their species only through states that attach to them but which are not concomitant (*lāzima*) with them inasmuch as they are souls as otherwise *all of them would share in [those states]*. *Consequential accidents* (*ʿrād lāḥiqa*) attach from a beginning that must be temporal because they come after a cause that happens to some of them and not others. So the individuation of souls is also an originated thing. So they are not eternal and unending when their origination occurs along with a body.

The point of these passages is that concomitant accidents, shared by all individuals of a species, cannot serve to individuate a thing; this individuation requires consequential accidents which attach to a thing through movement, and this type of movement requires matter and position. The extant passage

section,” his way of cross-referencing the Mubāḥatāt materials. The issue is found also in MI:37ff. (Bīdārfar).

¹²³ See Badawī 135-166 (cf. Bīdārfar 1044-1072); additional parts of the chapter can be found in what is now called *at-Taʿlīqāt*, ed. Badawī, p. 98ff. A detailed discussion of these *budūr*, regularly referred to in the Mubāḥatāt materials, is found in Chapter Four, Section III.D.

from the *Budūr* lacks this final ingredient, although the implication is clear. The passage in *Kitāb an-Nafs* directly states that individuation occurs through matter and position. Considering the close similarity between the passage from the *Budūr* and the passage from *Kitāb an-Nafs*, it is safe to assume that the *Budūr* passages at one point contained a discussion similar to passage [a] found in *Kitāb an-Nafs*. The salient point is that these passages contain the theoretical background applied in Ibn Sīnā's response at Bīdārfar 896: the way in which the species individuates is through the consequential attributes produced by relation to matter and position. It is likely, then, that a reference to *Budūr* was replaced by a reference to *al-mubāḥaṭāt aṣ-ṣadīqiya*.

The suppression of references to the *Budūr* is evident in two other places in the Ṣignāhī Codex Recension. In the first, compare the passages at Bīdārfar 347 (the original version) and Badawī 89 (the revised version):

Bīdārfar 347:

المزاج مازجان: محرك الى المزاج وفاعل للمزاج ويلزمه أن يكون
حافظاً لما قيل في البذور.¹²⁴ والاول خادم والثانى مخدوم....

Badawī 89 (and L2):

المزاج مازجان: محرك الى المزاج وفاعل للمزاج ويلزمه أن يكون
حافظاً. والاول خادم والثانى مخدوم....

In the second example—compare Bīdārfar 360, Badawī 93—the question¹²⁵ containing the reference to the *Budūr* is removed entirely: “reference was made in these sections to the *Budūr*, but it was not mentioned there...” (*fa-qad uḥila bihī fī hādihī l-fuṣūl ‘alā l-budūr wa-lam yuqal hunāka*).

IV.B.c.5. The Creation of the Title *al-Mubāḥaṭāt*

On the basis of the foregoing evidence, it can be argued that the citations found in the *Mubāḥaṭāt* materials of a *mubāḥaṭāt aṣ-ṣadīq* or an *al-mubāḥaṭāt aṣ-ṣadīqiya* probably originate with an intermediary recension process. The precise intentions of the recensor are not immediately clear at this stage of research, but we can be relatively confident that the mass of materials found in the Ṣignāhī Codex Recension was in the process of being divided into a number of different texts. The fact that this process was uncompleted when aṣ-Ṣignāhī copied the materials also helps to explain the variance in the two titles, which itself suggests an ongoing revision process in which a final decision about titles had not yet been made.

¹²⁴ Y. البزور : L1 البزر (خ: البذ) : E البدر : B, A, البذر : Reisman : corr. البذور

¹²⁵ Note that this question is a follow-up to Bīdārfar 347, and it is on this basis that I have made the correction to the manuscripts detailed in the preceding note.

However, it should not be thought that the choice of the two “titles” was the creation of the recensor, guided solely by his fancy. The repeated use of a variety of verbal and nominal forms from the root *b.ḥ.t* in the Mubāḥatāt materials, particularly Ibn Sīnā’s descriptive characterization of the activity he and Bahmanyār were engaged in as “*mubāḥatāt* such as these” (MII:44) undoubtedly served as the basis for the later title *Kitāb al-Mubāḥatāt*. The intermediate stage of nomenclature witnessed in the two citations discussed here which contain the addition of *ṣadīq* and *aṣ-ṣadīqīya* was also closely related to a reading of the materials. We find Ibn Sīnā referring to a “friend” and to “friends” repeatedly in the materials:

MIII:47. *ṣadīq*

MIII:50. *aṣḍiqāʾ*

MIII:52. *ṣadīq*

MIII:117. *ṣadīqunā*

MVIb2:539. *ṣadīq lanā*¹²⁶

Moreover, we find the heading “part of his speech on the perdurance of the soul, which is part of his discussions with his friends” (*min kalāmiḥī fī baqāʾi n-naḥs wa-huwa min mubāḥatātihī maʿa aṣḍiqāʾihī*) in at least one of the independently circulating fascicles of Mubāḥatāt materials. This conjunction of both terms may very well be the source for the later refinement into the two titles.¹²⁷ But again, it is to be noted that the stage represented by the fascicle header is not one in which a title has been stabilized for the materials; the heading is merely descriptive. The recension process that led to the title *Kitāb al-Mubāḥatāt* was a complicated one; the foregoing analysis of one of the intermediate stages in that recension process should highlight the *ad hoc* nature of the endeavor.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ The use of *aṣḍiqāʾ* in MIVa:131 and 137 may account for the inclusion of this letter as part of the greater Mubāḥatāt materials.

¹²⁷ The header is found in Ragıp Paşa 1461, 142r, preceding MVIa2:425ff., and also in L2, f. 107v.11; see Chapter One, Part Two, Section IV.

¹²⁸ The degree of confusion surrounding the title of the materials is evidenced best by a scribal assertion added to the title of *Kitāb al-Ḥudūd* in MS Istanbul University 4755, dated 588/1192. There (292r; also in Miškāt 1149, f. 42 *apud* Dānišpažūh, Miškāt catalogue, 3:4, 2395) we find the alternate title *al-Mabāḥiṭ aṣ-ṣadīqīya*, “Friendly Investigations” for *Kitāb al-Ḥudūd* (*Kitāb al-Ḥudūd wa-yuʿrafu bi-l-Mabāḥiṭ aṣ-ṣadīqīya*). The title may be a later addition to the manuscript, since the original scribe also copied the Longer Bibliography earlier in his codex, where the title *Kitāb al-Mubāḥatāt* is found. Nonetheless, the alternate title was clearly occasioned by Ibn Sīnā’s opening statements in *Kitāb al-Ḥudūd*: “...my friends asked me to dictate definitions of some things to them.” We have seen how the term *al-mabāḥiṭ* came to be associated with the Mubāḥatāt materials (through the colophon to L2), evidenced in al-Bayhaqī’s bibliography. An adjustment may have been made in the variant title to *Kitāb al-Ḥudūd* to account for the fact that the contents of *Kitāb al-Ḥudūd* could not be considered “discussions” (*mubāḥatāt*), but could be construed as “topics for investigation” (*mabāḥiṭ*).

V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The foregoing study of the evidence we have at our disposal for establishing the recension process of the *Mubāḥaṭāt* is based on a variety of sources from which we can draw a general but in no sense exact picture of the development of the *Mubāḥaṭāt* texts into a collection entitled *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt*. It appears that the participants in the correspondence referred to their letters and responsa in codicological terms and general descriptive terms. In addition to these internal terms, we also find Bahmanyār referring in his *at-Taḥṣīl* to his correspondence with Ibn Sīnā by the term “conversation” (*muḥāwara*), which is also found in an anonymous characterization of one of Ibn Zayla’s questions for Ibn Sīnā, and indeed is the term Ibn Sīnā himself uses to describe his correspondence with Bahmanyār. The earliest recension of *Mubāḥaṭāt* materials appears to be one made by Bahmanyār, who called it *Taḥṣīlāt*. This recension is to be roughly dated to the period between Ibn Sīnā’s death in 428/1037 and Bahmanyār’s death in 458/1066-7. We might suggest an earlier point between those dates for the completion of this recension when we consider the fact that Bahmanyār’s recension work was likely abandoned once he had decided to write his *Kitāb at-Taḥṣīl* for his uncle.

The next stage of the recension processes likely occurred between Bahmanyār’s death and the end of the 5th/11th century. Based on the analysis of the *Ṣignāḥī* Codex Recension and the determination that it must have been constructed from one of the Earlier Recensions from which it took its title, we can theoretically date the appearance of the title *Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt* to the end of the 5th/11th century. This was the period of the Earlier Recensions (excluding Bahmanyār’s recension).

But the evidence we have from al-Bayhaqī’s incidental remarks in his *Tatimma* also indicates that the title *al-Mabāḥiṭ* was associated with one of those Earlier Recensions. Whether this means that the title *al-Mabāḥiṭ* predates the title *al-Mubāḥaṭāt* is impossible to determine. It would be much safer to suggest that, for a period at the end of the 5th/11th century and the beginning of the 6th/12th century, both titles circulated. But the title *al-Mubāḥaṭāt* in the *Ṣignāḥī* Codex Recension, copied between 500-548/1106-1153, is the only tangible piece of evidence we have for the appearance of that title.

The examination of the various versions of the Autobiography/Biography Complex has drawn out a number of significant points. It is to be noted that the shorter bibliography preserved by al-Bayhaqī probably reflects scholarly knowledge of Ibn Sīnā’s works in the period immediately after Ibn Sīnā’s death in 428/1037. This is likely because that bibliography does not contain any title that can be identified with the *Mubāḥaṭāt*, but al-Bayhaqī himself knew of a work entitled *al-Mabāḥiṭ*. It has been determined that al-Ğüzğānī himself probably did not compose any bibliography (i.e., a list of his master’s works) as part of his Biography. The Shorter Bibliography found

within his Biography is at odds with both the structure and the intention of that Biography. The appearance of the Longer Bibliography, containing the title al-Mubāḥatāt, can be dated to around 588/1192 (MS Istanbul University A.Y. 4755); this date is consonant with the evidence from the Ṣiġnāḥī Codex Recension and its use of the title. The contents of this Longer Bibliography probably affected the contents of the Shorter Bibliography of the Complex as found in al-Qifṭī's biographical dictionary; at the very least we can state that, by al-Qifṭī's period of activity (mid-7th/mid-13th century), the contents of the Shorter Bibliography had become very fluid and probably reflected scholarly knowledge of Ibn Sīnā's works in the 7th/13th century.

Furthermore, it can be stated with relative certainty that the putative citation of a Kitāb al-Mubāḥatāt on the part of Ibn Sīnā in the so-called *Ta'alluq an-naḥs bi-l-badan* is entirely untrustworthy. There was no correspondence between Ibn Sīnā and Abū Sa'īd; this is the product of later Sufi or Iṣrāqī traditions. The *Ta'alluq* is probably a forgery in its attribution to Ibn Sīnā.¹²⁹

Finally, the possible titles *mubāḥatāt aṣ-ṣadīq* and *al-mubāḥatāt aṣ-ṣadīqīya* in the Mubāḥatāt texts themselves are more than likely the product of an intermediary stage of the recension process and not to be attributed to the participants of the discussions. However, the presence of descriptive characterizations of the correspondence on the part of the participants in the texts of the Mubāḥatāt, including the terms *mubāḥatāt* and *ṣadīq* and its variants, most likely informed the eventual choice of the title al-Mubāḥatāt for the correspondence.

In Figure 3 below, the trajectory of the recension process is outlined according to tentative dates, the nomenclature of the corpus, and the recension stages. Those sigla preceded by an asterisk (*) are intended to represent posited *recensions* from which the extant manuscript exemplars descend.

Table 4 presents the contents of the five major recensions,¹³⁰ arranged from left-to-right, according to the theory of recensional development presented above. This provides a graphic representation of both the increase in material incorporated into the successive recensions as well the restructuring of that material for the final Later Recension. The division of the Mubāḥatāt texts follows that outlined in the Technical Layout of the Study, Section I. The paragraph numbers follow those of Bīdārfar's edition. Abbreviations employed are: Ba(dawī); Bī(dārfar); fr(agment); la(cuna).

¹²⁹ See my forthcoming study for this distinction.

¹³⁰ I omit the Ṣiġnāḥī Codex Recension, since its contents, having undergone a major re-editing, cannot be accommodated in a concise presentation. However, in Appendix B: Concordance of the Editions of Bīdārfar and Badawī, the reader may obtain a general idea of the contents of the Ṣiġnāḥī Codex Recension sufficient for purposes of comparison with the other recensions. Appendix C: Contents of MS L2 as compared to MSS C and B sets forth the contents and order of materials in L2 with reference to the two published editions of the Mubāḥatāt.

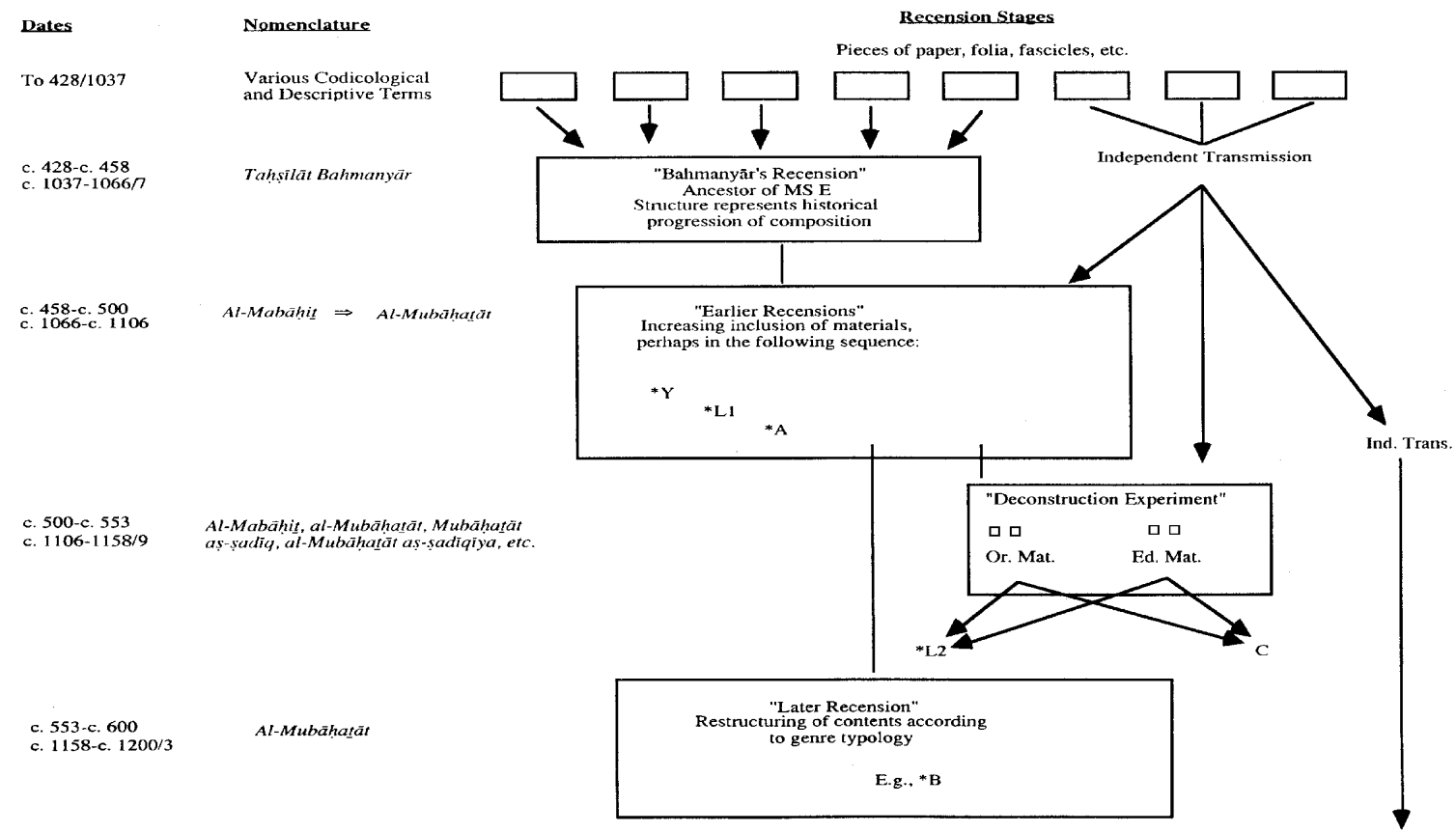


Figure 3: The Recension Process

Table 4. Contents of the Major Recensions

← EARLIER RECENSIONS →				LATER RECENSION →
E	Y	L1	A	B
MIVb	MIVb	MIVb	MIVb	MI (1-31)
MVa 210-215 228-250 252-266	MVa	MVa	MVa	MII (32-46)
MI	MI	MI	MI	MIII (47-126)
MVb	MVb	MVb	MVb	MIVa (127-141)
MII	MII	MII	MII	MIVb (142-209)
MVc 310-323 326-345 347-396	MVc 310-323 326-396	MVc 310-323 326-396	MVc 310-323 326-396	MVa (210-266)
MIII	MIII	MIII	MIII	MVb (267-309)
MVIa2 400-447 449-459 461-499	MVIa2 400-447 449-499	MVIa2 400-447 449-499	MVIa2 400-447 449-499	MVc1 (310-352)
MVIb2/MVlc 518fr. 519 502-515 517-518fr. 525-590 Ba. 186 748-749 726 759-763 721 774 591-596 598-614 618-635 781-787 718 660 658-9 747	MVIb2 518fr.-519 520-524 502-515 517-518fr. 525-567	MVIb2 [518fr.-519 in margin] 520-524 502-515 517-519 525-567	MVIb2 520-524 502-515 517-519 525-567	MVc2 (353-396)
	MVlc 568-596 598-616 616-708 710-742 744-760 762-787	MVlc 568-709 MIVa MVlc continued 710-742 744-787	MVlc 568-664 <Lac.>MIVa MVlc continued 710-742 744-787 743 665-709 788-798	MVIa1 (397-399)
			MVId 799-819	MVIa2 (400-499)
			MVle 820-843 Ba. 299-290b Bi. 869-70 (abridged) Ba. 260 Ba.65 Ba. 62, Bi. 218/2 Ba. 40 Ba. 41-2 Ba. 485	MVIb1 (500-501)
MVIIf 851			MVIIf 844-901	MVIb2 (502-567)
				MVlc (568-798)
				MVId (799-819)
				MVle (820-843)
				MVIIf (844-901)

CHAPTER THREE

THE CONTEXT OF COMPOSITION AND THE PARTICIPANTS

I. INTRODUCTION

The two previous chapters have addressed the recension history of the Mubāḥaṭāt through the extant manuscript remains, and the “discovery” of the Mubāḥaṭāt in the latter half of the 5th/11th and early 6th/12th centuries by later students and scholars. This process of working backwards in time continues in this chapter with biographical sketches of those individuals known to have participated in differing ways as questioners in the texts of the Mubāḥaṭāt: Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī, Bahmanyār, and Ibn Zayla. These biographical sketches are not intended to be comprehensive, but only to highlight some aspects of the lives and works of these participants that have direct bearing on their relationships with Ibn Sīnā and their participation in the texts of the Mubāḥaṭāt.

II. THE PARTICIPANTS

II.A. *Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī*

II.A.a. *Early Years*

J. Michot has noted the relationship Ibn Sīnā draws in MIII between Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī and Miskawayh and on this basis identified Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī with Abū l-Qāsim al-Kātib (the chancellery secretary), the apprentice (*ḡulām*) of al-ʿĀmirī (381/991).¹ In MIII, Ibn Sīnā’s Letter to Bahmanyār, Ibn Sīnā chastises Bahmanyār for the combative tenor the correspondence has assumed and threatens Bahmanyār with its conclusion.

113. This is all I can say about each question in one sitting when my aim is to be both brief and enigmatic, as a recompense for impoliteness. Each question in itself could warrant an unequivocal answer filling many pages, but that would have been only if each question had been isolated, self-contained, and its response sought after an interval and in a polite manner, for it would be unseemly of me to behave like Miskawayh, al-Kirmānī, and these kinds of people.

¹ For the biography and works of al-ʿĀmirī, see E. Rowson, *A Muslim Philosopher*, introduction; Kraemer, *Humanism*, pp. 233ff.; and S. Ḥalīfāt, *Rasāʾil*, pp. 13-124, 193-215.

114. If it is thought that I am of their class, then it would be best for him² to assume that I will not respond to the questions and will stop burdening myself with the trouble of explaining them. But if the opinion of me is in accordance with what I deserve and according to the distinction God—praise him—has accorded me, then I cannot engage in foolish conversation, the way those two do.³

This connection of Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī to Miskawayh allows us to suggest that the former is the person whom at-Tawḥīdī, in a conversation he had with Miskawayh and which he recounts in his *Kitāb al-Imtāʿ wa-l-muʾānasa*, refers to as Abū l-Qāsim al-Kātib:

I gave [Miskawayh] in these days the *Unembellished Commentary on the Eisagoge and the Categories*, one of the works of our friend in Rayy. [Ibn Saʿdān] said: ‘Who is he?’ I said: ‘Abū l-Qāsim the chancellery secretary (*kātib*), the apprentice (*ḡulām*) of Abū l-Ḥasan al-ʿĀmirī.’ And he [Miskawayh] corrected the text with me.⁴

The context of the composition of *Kitāb al-Imtāʿ* is well-known. At-Tawḥīdī was asked by Abū l-Wafāʾ al-Būzḡānī to recount the conversations at-Tawḥīdī had with Ibn Saʿdān, the vizier of Ṣamṣam ad-Dawla between the years 373/983 and 375/985.⁵ At-Tawḥīdī’s reference to “these days” in his account of Miskawayh dates his meeting with Miskawayh and their correction of Abū l-Qāsim’s commentary to sometime during those two years. At-Tawḥīdī goes on to say in the same passage that Miskawayh is now sheltered (*lāʾid*) by Ibn al-Ḥammār; this must have been after the death of ʿAḍud ad-Dawla in 372/982.⁶ Around this time, then, at-Tawḥīdī presented Miskawayh with a commentary written by Abū l-Qāsim, the chancellery secretary, also known to them as the *ḡulām* of the philosopher al-ʿĀmirī. It is difficult to know what at-Tawḥīdī might mean by *ḡulām* in this context. The usual connotations of *ḡulām* as “slave” need not apply in this case, nor even that Abū l-Qāsim was very young, since both of these connotations are difficult to interpret when applied to an author of a commentary on Porphyry’s *Eisagoge* and Aristotle’s *Categories*. However, the term may give us an idea of Abū l-Qāsim’s *original* relationship with al-ʿĀmirī. In fact, it is very likely that at-Tawḥīdī and Miskawayh first met Abū l-Qāsim as the *ḡulām* of al-ʿĀmirī

² I.e., Bahmanyār.

³ Cf. Michot’s French translation, “La réponse,” pp. 189-190. Michot queried whether the dual in the final sentence referred to Bahmanyār and Kirmānī; it more aptly fits Ibn Sīnā’s opinion of Miskawayh and al-Kirmānī.

⁴ *Kitāb al-Imtāʿ*, 1:35. See also a French translation of this passage in M. Arkoun, *L’humanisme arabe*, p. 39. Kraemer gives a summary of the passage in *Humanism*, p. 277.

⁵ See the introduction to the *Imtāʿ*, pp. *dāl* ff.; D.S. Margoliouth in the introduction to the indices volume of *Eclipse*, iii; and, for a general biographical sketch of at-Tawḥīdī, Kraemer, *Humanism*, pp. 212ff.

⁶ Margoliouth, loc. cit.

when that philosopher visited Rayy shortly before 360/970.⁷ Abū l-Qāsim must have been quite young at this time, considering the possibility of his authorship of *Šiwān al-ḥikma* (see below) and his later participation in the Mubāḥaṭāt, and so the term *ḡulām* might have been appropriate around 360/970.

At-Tawḥīdī makes two other references to Abū l-Qāsim in the *Imtāʿ*. In one, he reiterates the connection between Abū l-Qāsim and al-ʿĀmirī:

Then I returned another time and [Ibn Saʿdān] said: ‘You mentioned to me that al-ʿĀmirī wrote a book entitled *Inqāḍ al-bašar min al-ḡabr wa-l-qadar*. How is it?’ I said: ‘I saw this book in his handwriting in the possession of our friend and his student Abū l-Qāsim al-Kātib. Although I did not read it back⁸ to al-ʿĀmirī, I heard Abū Ḥātim ar-Rāzī read it back to him....’⁹

In an anecdote at-Tawḥīdī recounts about the ethical qualities (*aḥlāq*) of aṣ-Šāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād, the vizier at the Būyid court in Rayy, Abū l-Qāsim is made the butt of Ibn ʿAbbād’s infamous sense of humor.¹⁰

One day, [Ibn ʿAbbād] said: ‘Who is in the chancellery (*dār*)?’ He was told Abū l-Qāsim al-Kātib and Ibn Tābit. So he composed two verses on the spot and said to a man before him: ‘When I grant these two [i.e., Abū l-Qāsim al-Kātib and Ibn Tābit] audience, you come in an hour after them and say ‘I just came up with two verses; if you order me to recite them, I will recite them,’ and pretend that you have made them up yourself. Do not be concerned if I grumble at you, and do not be alarmed if I rebuke you.’ And he gave the two verses to him and ordered him to go out to the courtyard. He granted audience to the two men [and] they arrived. The other man came in immediately after they had sat down and cordially greeted [the vizier], and he stood in attendance and began moving his lips to show that he was composing a poem. Then he said: ‘Master, two verses have come to me; if you give me permission I will recite [them].’ [Ibn ʿAbbād] said: ‘You are a foolish and dim-witted man; nothing you say has any good in it. Spare me your story and your poem.’ He said: ‘Master, they are my spontaneous improvisation. If you deny me, you do me injustice. In any case, listen, and if they show skill [so be it] and if not then do with me as you wish.’ [Ibn ʿAbbād] said: ‘You are so obstinate! Go ahead!’ So he recited: ‘Oh, Šāḥib, crown of the mighty, don’t make me the butt of the gloater by means of a heretic with the *kunya* Abū Qāsim and a Ḡabarite said to be Tābit.’ [Ibn ʿAbbād] said: ‘God damn you but you have done well as an insulter!’ Abū l-Qāsim said to me [i.e., to at-Tawḥīdī]: ‘I almost

⁷ Rowson, op. cit., pp. 4-5; al-Qāḍī, “Kitāb Šiwān al-ḥikma,” p. 118, who believes he was a “slave” of al-ʿĀmirī.

⁸ The idiom “to read back to,” *qaraʿa ʿalā*, refers to the process in medieval Islamic pedagogy in which a student reads a text to his teacher in order to receive a licence (*iğāza*) to transmit and teach the contents of that work himself.

⁹ *Imtāʿ*, 1:222. Al-Qāḍī, op. cit., p. 118, has misunderstood this report to mean that Abū l-Qāsim himself “used to teach al-ʿĀmirī’s books to students”!

¹⁰ See the biographical sketch of Ibn ʿAbbād in Kraemer, op. cit., pp. 259ff.

burst out in anger because I knew it was one of his famous acts and that that ignoramus had not composed so much as a verse.¹¹

Abū l-Qāsim, who reported this event to at-Tawḥīdī, must at the time have been at the Būyid court at Rayy in the years of aṣ-Ṣāhib Ibn ‘Abbād’s vizierate,¹² and it was probably during this time that he served as a chancellery secretary. Again, his ill-fated meeting with the vizier Ibn ‘Abbād must have taken place before at-Tawḥīdī’s meetings with Ibn Sa‘dān, ie., before 373/983.¹³ This anecdote helps further to clear up the ambiguity in at-Tawḥīdī’s initial report on Abū l-Qāsim. The fact that at-Tawḥīdī brought Abū l-Qāsim’s work to Miskawayh in Baḡdād would suggest that Abū l-Qāsim gave at-Tawḥīdī his work when the latter visited Rayy during the years 368/978 and 370/980.¹⁴ And it was probably during this time that he recounted to at-Tawḥīdī his meeting with the Ṣāhib. By this time, he was a chancellery secretary and no longer a *ḡulām*. Thus, we might suggest that when at-Tawḥīdī and Miskawayh first met Abū l-Qāsim in Rayy in the company of al-‘Āmirī shortly before 360/970, he was a youth of fifteen to twenty years of age, and by the time he had entered the bureaucratic chancery and composed his commentary, sometime before 373/983, he was in his late twenties or early thirties.

II.A.b. Works

II.A.b.1. At-Tawḥīdī provides us with the title of one of this Abū l-Qāsim’s works: *The Unembellished Commentary on the Eisagoge and the Categories* (*Ṣafw aṣ-ṣarḥ li-Īsāḡūḡī wa-Qāṭīḡuriyās*)

It is very possible that the part of this work which deals with Aristotle’s *Categories* is preserved in the *maḡmū‘a* Ayasofya 2483, where it bears the title *Exegesis of the Meanings of Aristotle’s Terms in the Categories* (*Tafsīr ma‘ānī alfāẓ Aristūṭālīs fī Kitāb al-Maqūlāt*) as abridged by one Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Wāhibī.¹⁵ The strongest piece of evidence

¹¹ *Imtā‘*, 1:56-7. There may be no convincing explanation for why Ibn ‘Abbād would select the epithet “heretic,” *mulḥid*, for Abū l-Qāsim other than his wicked sense of humor (although the insult is clear: Abū l-Qāsim, the “heretic” shared his *kunya* with the Prophet), but it should not go unremarked that Abū l-Qāsim’s master al-‘Āmirī did not escape the charge of *ilhād*; see at-Tawḥīdī’s report of al-Ḡarīrī’s diatribe against al-‘Āmirī in the *Imtā‘*, 2:15-16, translated by Rowson, op.cit., p. 23, and al-‘Āmirī’s own intimations of such a charge in his *al-Ibṣār wa-l-mubṣār*, ibid, p. 25.

¹² Ibn ‘Abbād served two Būyids at Rayy: Mu‘ayyid ad-Dawla until the latter’s death in 373/983 and Faḥr ad-Dawla from 373/983 until his own death in 385/995; see Kraemer, op. cit., p. 260.

¹³ Thus, Abū l-Qāsim’s meeting with the Ṣāhib must have occurred during the latter’s term as vizier under Mu‘ayyid ad-Dawla.

¹⁴ For at-Tawḥīdī’s three trips to Rayy, see al-Qāḍī, op. cit., p. 113.

¹⁵ See Mubahat Türker, “El-‘Āmirî ve Katagoriler’in şehleriyle ilgili parçalar,” *Araştırma* 3 (1965), pp. 65-122. Türker’s introductory essay is translated in the same volume as “Al-‘Āmirî et les Fragments des Commentaires des Catégories d’Aristote,” pp. 77-86 (my references are to this

for the attribution of the work to Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī is the fact that the latest authorities whose commentaries on the *Categories* are cited in the work belong to the Abū Sulaymān as-Siġistānī circle of philosophers, and culminate with al-ʿĀmirī, “the latest and most often cited author,”¹⁶ Abū l-Qāsim’s teacher.¹⁷

II.A.b.2. Unattested Authorship of *Šiwān al-ḥikma*

Wadād al-Qāḍī has constructed a compelling argument for Abū l-Qāsim’s authorship of a much more significant work: *Šiwān al-ḥikma*.¹⁸ In addition to working out the chronology of the relationships among at-Tawḥīdī, Miskawayh, and Abū l-Qāsim, much of which is followed here, al-Qāḍī has emphasized the very detailed knowledge of the works of al-ʿĀmirī, at-Tawḥīdī and Miskawayh that the author of *Šiwān al-ḥikma* evinces, as well as the possible first hand knowledge the author may have had of the years Miskawayh spent in Rayy. Most importantly, she has noted that, based upon the dating for one of at-Tawḥīdī’s works (*al-Muqābasāt*, which appeared between 386 and 392/996-1002) and the accepted death date for Miskawayh (421/1030), who was alive when *Šiwān al-ḥikma* was composed, the author must have written the work between about 395 and 420/1004-1029. This period of activity is also the period in which Ibn Sīnā would first make Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī’s acquaintance and, extended a little (based upon the arguments

French translation). The Arabic text is found pp. 103-122 (entitled by Türker “El-Vahibî (?)nin *Kategoriler* Şerh’inde zikredilen ve *Kategoriler* üzerine Yunan ve İslâm Filozoflarının yapmış oldukları Şerhlerden alınan Parçalar ve bu Parçaların *Kategoriler*’de ait olduğu Yerler”). [The Arabic text has been reprinted in S. Ḥalifāt, *Rasā’il*, pp. 441-467.] Türker has corrected the name al-Wāhibī found in the unicum Ayasofya 2483 to read aḍ-Ḍahabī and identified this individual with Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Azdī aḍ-Ḍahabī, an Andalusian physician and philosopher who died in 456/1064 in Valencia. If this identification is indeed correct, it would be reasonable to assign to aḍ-Ḍahabī the role of abridger of a work originally composed by Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī. Indeed, Rowson, op. cit., p. 14, also reached this conclusion, stating that Abū l-Qāsim’s work “would appear to be a very likely candidate for the original text epitomized by al-Wāhibī.”

¹⁶ Rowson, op. cit., p. 13.

¹⁷ Türker, op. cit., p. 85, n. 56, has suggested that the Abū Ğaʿfar al-Ḥāzin cited in the abridgment is to be identified with Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāzin (Türker has “Is.” instead of Ibrāhīm), who flourished around 421/1030. If this were so, al-Ḥāzin would be the latest author cited in al-Wāhibī’s abridgment, making it less likely that Abū l-Qāsim is the author of the original text that al-Wāhibī abridged. Türker, ibid., cites GAL I, 494 for this al-Ḥāzin (and apparently misunderstands the one title Brockelmann lists for him, a *Kitāb at-tīb*, as indicating that he was a “médecine”). But it is more likely that this Abū Ğaʿfar al-Ḥāzin is Abū Ğaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Abī l-Ḥasan (Mūsá) al-Ḥāzin of Ḥurāsān, who died between 350-360/961-971; see GAL, S I, 387, GAS V:298; Kraemer, *Sijistānī*, p. 28, n. 78, and passim. It is to be remarked that the fragments of Abū l-Qāsim’s commentary preserved by al-Wāhibī are suggestive of a first attempt at commentary by a young scholar: it consists entirely of the citations of scholars who preceded him. This characterization may be implicit in the term *şafw*, “unadorned,” “unembellished,” found in the title of Abū l-Qāsim’s work.

¹⁸ Al-Qāḍī, op. cit., pp. 87-124, especially pp. 113ff.

for the dating of the Mubāḥaṭāt texts in the next chapter), allows for Abū l-Qāsim's participation, as Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī, the cohort of Miskawayh, in the Mubāḥaṭāt. The identification of Abū l-Qāsim, once a *ḡulām* of al-ʿĀmirī, later a secretary at the Būyid court at Rayy, with the Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī who plays a role in the Mubāḥaṭāt becomes a very viable hypothesis.¹⁹

Three additional works that may be attributable to Abū l-Qāsim provide some additional information about the identity of this person.

II.A.b.3. As the author of a short untitled tract on the Prophet's *ḥadīth* concerning the seventy-two sects of his community

The author of this tract is named Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Wāḥid ibn Aḥmad al-Kirmānī.²⁰ It is worth noting that the unique copy of this work is found in a *maḡmūʿa* (Ragıp Paşa 1463, dated 525/1130) in the company of works by al-ʿĀmirī, Abū l-Ḥayr ibn al-Ḥammār (Ibn Suwār), and Miskawayh; none of the works is by an author later than al-ʿĀmirī, and this company of scholars would be consistent with Abū l-Qāsim's intellectual allegiances.

II.A.b.4. As the author of a short untitled treatise on suffering, preserved in Hebrew characters

The author is named as Abū l-Qāsim ibn Aḥmad al-Kirmānī. This treatise is actually an abridgment (*muḥtaṣar*) of the original work, in which Abū l-Qāsim lists the views on suffering of seven different groups of scholars, including the "philosophers," whose view he shares.²¹

II.A.b.5. As the author, named simply Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī, of an introductory work on astrology entitled *Fundamental Principles of Astrology* (*Risāla fī Uṣūl al-aḥkām an-nuḡūmīya*) which Sezgin has explicitly attributed to the Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī known to Ibn Sīnā.²²

For a possible relation between this work and Ibn Sīnā's *Risāla fī Ibtāl*

¹⁹ See however Kraemer, *Sijistānī*, pp. 119ff., who is not convinced by al-Qāḍī's identification (p. 122, n. 135).

²⁰ H. Ritter first mentioned the work in "Philologica III," p. 46, no. 27. It has since been published by Dederling in *Le Monde Oriental* 25 (1931), pp. 35-43, and is cited three times in H. Daiber's *Muʿammar*, pp. 3, 40, 139.

²¹ The treatise was edited on the basis of the unicum Bodleian Hunt. 162 by Amos Goldreich in "An Unknown Treatise on Suffering by Abū al-Qāsim al-Kirmānī," [in Hebrew, with English summary, pp. XVf.], pp. 169-204, who explicitly attributes the work to Abū l-Qāsim (p. XV). Goldreich has noted the Neoplatonic nature of the "philosopher's" views espoused in the treatise and linked them with the views of the Iḥwān aṣ-ṣafā'. Another, perhaps more appropriate, comparison would be to the Neoplatonism of al-ʿĀmirī and Miskawayh.

²² See Sezgin, GAS VII:193-4, listing the unicum Bodleian Marsh 663. I thank Tzvi Langermann for forwarding a copy of this exemplar to me. Michot, who accepts the attribution of this treatise to our Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī, reproduces and translates the first few lines of the treatise in the Bodleian manuscript in *Ibn Sīnā, Lettre au vizir Abū Saʿd*, p. 22*-23*.

aḥkāṃ an-nuḡūm, see the section on Ibn Zayla below.²³

A comparison of the intellectual views espoused in these works with the implicit opinions of Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī found in the Mubāḥaṭāt texts will have to be made to determine the likelihood of these attributions (if in fact these works contain passages that would serve for such comparison). If the attributions can be confidently confirmed, it will allow us to further identify the Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī of the Mubāḥaṭāt as Abū l-Qāsim ‘*Abd al-Wāḥid ibn Aḥmad* al-Kirmānī.²⁴

II.A.c. *Early Contact with Ibn Sīnā*

The fact that Ibn Sīnā links Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī’s name to Miskawayh in his Letter to Bahmanyār (MIII) is important for identifying Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī as the student of al-‘Āmirī known to at-Tawḥīdī and Miskawayh in the latter half of the 4th/10th century. Equally important is the connection to Rayy since, as we will see, the Mubāḥaṭāt as a correspondence between Ibn Sīnā and Bahmanyār and Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī was likely initiated after a meeting in Rayy. Additional information on the relationship between Ibn Sīnā and Abū l-Qāsim prior to the inception of the Mubāḥaṭāt follows here.

Al-Bayhaqī’s very brief notice of Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī in *Tatimmat*

²³ I thank David King for the possible attribution of another work on astrology to Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī (e-mail communication to the Islamic Sciences listserver 2/18/2000). This work, found in MSS Cairo Ṭal‘at *mīqāt* 188 and Princeton Yahuda 5067, is entitled *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* and is attributed to one al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd Allāh aṣ-Ṣūfī al-Kirmānī (see King’s *A Survey of the Scientific Manuscripts*, B80, pp. 48-49, and R. Mach’s catalogue of the Yahuda collection, no. 5067). However, for a number of reasons, it appears unlikely that this al-Kirmānī (who did not, it seems, bear the *kunya* Abū l-Qāsim) is the same as Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī. Sezgin (GAS VI:67, whom King cites) does not identify al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd Allāh aṣ-Ṣūfī al-Kirmānī with the Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī, contemporary of Ibn Sīnā, whom he treats in VII:193-194. Sezgin (VI:67) has suggested that al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd Allāh aṣ-Ṣūfī al-Kirmānī was the son of the Isma‘īlī *dā‘in* Ḥamīd ad-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Kirmānī, d.c. 411/1021 (see GAS I:582, VI:67). Both the names of father and son as well as the general death date we have for the father make the identification very unlikely. There is no indication in the general early biography presented above of Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī, the student of al-‘Āmirī, that he was connected to the Ismā‘īlīs, an allegiance that likely would not have been overlooked by an author like at-Tawḥīdī. However, al-Ġūzġānī, in his Biography of Ibn Sīnā does note a *bāṭinī* connection for the Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī who served as messenger for the scholars of Šīrāz and Ibn Sīnā, but the simple coincidence of two works on astrology by two individuals with similar names does not necessarily allow us to identify the two authors as one and the same individual; see more on the reference in al-Ġūzġānī’s Biography below.

²⁴ A cursory examination of these texts has not elicited any immediately apparent elements for comparison. However, of the five texts, number (3) is most likely not attributable to Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī for the simple reason that the author of that tract identifies the “redeemed group” (*firqā nāḡiya*), among whom he implicitly counts himself, as the traditionists (*aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*). This is an incongruous, if not impossible, affiliation for a philosopher; see Dederling, op. cit., p. 42.

Šiwān al-ḥikma is exclusively designed to draw attention to the poor relations between Ibn Sīnā and Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī:

He was a philosopher and scholar with whom Abū ‘Alī [Ibn Sīnā] had a public debate which led to a quarrel (*mušāğara*) accompanied by rudeness (*sū’ al-adab*). Abū ‘Alī accused [Abū l-Qāsim] of paying little attention to logic and Abū l-Qāsim accused Abū ‘Alī of error (*ğalaṭ*) and deceit (*muğālaṭa*). Abū ‘Alī wrote [about] this public debate to aš-Šayḥ al-Wazīr al-Amīn Abū Sa‘d al-Hamaḍānī, for whom Abū ‘Alī had composed *ar-Risāla al-Adḥawīya*....²⁵

Al-Bayhaqī provides no date for this public debate which would lead to the animosity between Abū l-Qāsim and Ibn Sīnā evident in the *Mubāḥaṭāt*. Michot, who discovered a unicum (?) of a letter written by Ibn Sīnā to the vizier Abū Sa‘d (hereafter Letter to the Vizier Abū Sa‘d) in the *mağmū‘a* Hüseyin Çelebi 1194, and who recently edited and translated it, has suggested that it took place during Ibn Sīnā’s stay in Hamaḍān in 405/1015.²⁶ Ibn Sīnā explicitly gives the name of his opponent as Abū l-Qāsim in his Letter to the Vizier Abū Sa‘d,²⁷ which further confirms the hypothesis that this letter is the one referred to by al-Bayhaqī.²⁸ A reading of this Letter allow us to

²⁵ *Tatimma*, ed. Šafi‘, pp. 32-33. Al-Bayhaqī’s report of the mutual accusations is drawn from the text of the letter Ibn Sīnā wrote to Abū Sa‘d; cf. Michot’s translation, “Nouvelle oeuvre,” p. 139, and *Ibn Sīnā, Lettre au vizir Abū Sa‘d*, p. 2: “...je [Ibn Sīnā] fus amené à...l’accusant de se soucier peu de ce qu’il possédait de l’art de la logique, alors que lui m’accusait de faire erreur de chercher à tromper.” In keeping with what we know of al-Bayhaqī’s methodology in the *Tatimma*, it is more than likely that he based his entire notice on Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī on this letter. While such an observation raises questions about how much historical information on Ibn Sīnā and his contemporaries was available to al-Bayhaqī, it underscores the very detailed bibliographical information al-Bayhaqī displays in his notices on Ibn Sīnā and his students, considering the relative obscurity of Ibn Sīnā’s Letter to the Vizier Abū Sa‘d in extant Avicenniana. This lends additional authority to his account of Ibn Sīnā’s works, and in particular the *Mubāḥaṭāt* (or al-Mabāḥiṭ), discussed above in Chapter Two, Section III.A.a.

²⁶ Michot first published a contents list of this *mağmū‘a* in “Un important recueil avicennien,” 1991, and a year later signalled the presence (ff. 131v-140r) of the Letter to the Vizier Abū Sa‘d (the title is Michot’s; there is no title in the manuscript itself) and gave a preliminary assessment of the context of its composition in “Une nouvelle oeuvre.” I thank Michot for generously forwarding to me a copy of an early draft of the introduction to his critical edition of the letter, which he has since revised and published in *Ibn Sīnā, Lettre au vizir Abū Sa‘d*. The general outline of Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī’s relationship with Ibn Sīnā presented in Michot’s introduction is followed here. Michot dates the meeting between Ibn Sīnā and Abū l-Qāsim to 405/1015 in *Ibn Sīnā*, 32*-33*, where he also notes that he is correcting his earlier supposition (“Nouvelle oeuvre,” p. 146) that the meeting took place in Rayy and not Hamaḍān.

²⁷ Michot, basing himself on W. Madelung (“Abū l-Kayr b. al-Kammār”), identifies this Abū Sa‘d with Abū Sa‘d Muḥammad ibn Ismā‘īl Ibn al-Faḍl, vizier of Mağd ad-Dawla in Rayy in 392/1002; see “Nouvelle oeuvre,” p. 144, and *Ibn Sīnā*, 29*-31*.

²⁸ In the incipit of the Letter (see Michot, “Nouvelle oeuvre,” p. 126 [transcribed], and id., *Ibn Sīnā*, p. 1 [Arabic text]), Ibn Sīnā refers to Abū Sa‘d as *aš-šayḥ al-afḍal mawlāya* and Abū l-Qāsim as *šayḥunā l-ḥakīm al-awḥad*. This singularly humble reference to Abū l-Qāsim on Ibn Sīnā’s part would degenerate irrevocably into the insults we find him hurling at Abū l-Qāsim in the later letters and texts of the *Mubāḥaṭāt*.

note that Ibn Sīnā's chief complaint against Abū l-Qāsim is the inability of the latter to employ logic properly in philosophical debates.²⁹

The fact that the issue of logic is of central importance in Ibn Sīnā's Letter to the Vizier Abū Saʿd and the likelihood that Ibn Sīnā's first meeting with Abū l-Qāsim took place in Hamadān suggest a possible relationship between that letter and Ibn Sīnā's Letter to the Scholars of Baġdād.³⁰ In the introduction to this letter, Ibn Sīnā, speaking in the third person, recounts how "a man from Buḥārā" arrived in Hamadān and met "an old (*kabīr*) *ṣayḥ* of plentiful virtues, adept at the sciences, proficient in the philosophical and legal sciences, and so he sought to befriend him and looked forward to conversations (*muḥāwara*) with him," but he found this *ṣayḥ* to be defective in, among other things, his knowledge of logic: "he found him strange and outlandish, very different from what he [himself] understood from the ancients. As for his logic, it was another logic, his natural sciences, some other natural sciences, his metaphysics, of a type suited to the talk of sufis and strange. He found him also to have a geometry of some other number." Ibn Sīnā focuses on his opponent's deficiencies in logic for the remainder of the letter, introducing the topic with the following words:

And when [this man in Hamadān] spoke, he employed another type of syllogism that he thought arrived at the information he sought to prove, but it did not, neither actually nor even almost actually. And when I analyzed his syllogisms and confirmed their ineffectualness and that their conclusions were different from the information he sought to prove, it had no effect on him. Rather, he sought to correct them by means of [syllogisms] even more unlikely than the first ones.

The objective of Ibn Sīnā's Letter to the Scholars of Baġdād is his request that those scholars evaluate a summary of his opponent's doctrines (*maḍāhib*) and his own, and determine their respective worth. He has written to the scholars of Baġdād because the man he met in Hamadān claimed that he took his views from "your mouths, the group of philosophers in Baġdād, and from the mouths of your predecessors who have departed [i.e., died]." This request for intervention bears close resemblance to the request Ibn Sīnā makes of the vizier Abū Saʿd.³¹

²⁹ Michot published an initial translation of Ibn Sīnā's introduction to the letter in "Nouvelle oeuvre," pp. 139ff., and has revised it in *Ibn Sīnā*, p. 1.

³⁰ The following translations from the Letter to the Scholars of Baġdād are based on the text edited by I. Yarshater entitled "Risālat baʿḍ al-afāḍil ilā ulamāʾ Madīnat as-Salām fī maqūlāt aṣ-Ṣayḥ ar-Raʾīs," in *Panğ Risālah*, pp. 73-90, with facsimile of MS Sipahsālār 1216 (?), pp. 91-97 [hereafter cited as Letter to the Scholars of Baġdād]. Cf. Michot's French translations of parts of this letter, especially 11* ff., and scattered throughout the introduction to his *Ibn Sīnā* (see the index, p. 162); note that Michot incorrectly credited M.T. Dānišpažūh with the edition of Letter to the Scholars of Baġdād (see, e.g., his bibliography, p. 134). Apparently the text was reproduced in M. Bīdārfar's *Rasāʾil aṣ-Ṣayḥ ar-Raʾīs* (Qum: Intiṣārāt-i Bīdār, 1400/1980, pp. 455-479) but I have not seen this collection.

³¹ For the translated passages, see the Letter to the Scholars of Baġdād, op. cit., 73.9, 74.2-8,

In both letters, Ibn Sīnā presents himself as a young man and his opponent as an older, esteemed scholar.³² Ibn Sīnā's description of himself as a young man is most likely to be interpreted as hyperbole or, at least, consistent with his attitude of humility in the Letter to the Vizier Abū Sa'd. At any rate, the very fact that he felt compelled to write these two letters in defense of his behavior during the debate suggests that he lacked the necessary status in the scholarly circles of Hamaḍān to allow the affair to go unremarked. According to the relative chronology of their lives, Ibn Sīnā may have been in his mid-thirties when he arrived in Hamaḍān in 405/1015 as the Sayyida's business manager,³³ and Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī, if he can be identified with the earlier "apprentice of al-ʿĀmirī," may have been in his early to mid-sixties.³⁴ An oblique reference to Abū l-Qāsim's seniority is also found in Ibn Sīnā's Letter to Bahmanyār: "And when a man has reached his age and stumbled around in the books of the philosophers the way he has and lurched along the way he has...then I will disparage him and fling him down from his station" (MII:75).³⁵

Finally, we find a reference to an Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī in al-Ġūzġānī's Biography. During Ibn Sīnā's period of activity in Iṣfahān with the Kākūyid ʿAlāʾ ad-Dawla (i.e., after 415/1024), he received questions from a group of unidentified scholars in Šīrāz concerning his work *al-Muḥtaṣar al-aṣḡar fī l-manṭiq*, a work later incorporated into the *Nağāt*. The individual who brought Ibn Sīnā the questions was, in al-Ġūzġānī's words, "Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī, the friend of Ibrāhīm ibn Bābā ad-Daylamī, who was engaged in the study of esoteric science (*ʿilm al-bāṭin*)."³⁶

In the present state of research, it is impossible to know if this Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī is the same Abū l-Qāsim whom Ibn Sīnā encountered

75.3-6, 75.1-2. For the similarity between the two letters, compare Ibn Sīnā's request in the Letter to the Scholars of Baġdād, p. 76.2-5, and Michot's French translation of the Letter to the Vizier Abū Sa'd in "Nouvelle oeuvre," p. 142, and id., *Ibn Sīnā*, p. 1.

³² See especially his self-description in the Letter to the Vizier Abū Sa'd, translated by Michot, "Nouvelle oeuvre," p. 139, and *Ibn Sīnā*, p. 2: "...quelqu'un de pareil à moi, de jeune âge et de petite intelligence."

³³ This calculation is based on the still unverified date of Ibn Sīnā's birth around 370/980.

³⁴ This calculation is based on the conjectured sequence of Abū l-Qāsim's early life, that he was between fifteen and twenty years of age when at-Tawḥīdī and Miskawayh first met him in the company of al-ʿĀmirī at Rayy before 360/970. We might posit the provisional birth date of c. 345/956 for Abū l-Qāsim.

³⁵ See Michot's French translation, "La réponse," p. 175, and *Ibn Sīnā*, pp. 15* ff., where he also notes the use of the verb *taṣaḥḥaṭa* (translated above as "stumble around;" lit. "to flounder about in one's own blood") in a similar context in the *Šifā: al-Ilāhīyāt*, p. 202.

³⁶ See Gohlman, Life, pp. 77 ff. The questions from the scholars of Šīrāz, and Ibn Sīnā's responses, collectively known as *al-Ağwiba ʿan al-masāʾil al-ʿiṣrīniya*, *ʿIṣrūn masʾala fī l-manṭiq*, and *al-Masāʾil al-ġarībīya*, were edited by Dānišpažūh as "Al-Masāʾil al-ġarība al-ʿiṣrīniya," in *Collected Texts and Papers on Logic and Language*, 1974, 81-103.

in Hamadān in 405/1015.³⁷ The fact that the name “Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī” is the only form in which we find Abū l-Qāsim identified in the texts by or related to Ibn Sīnā would suggest that that identification is possible. The context, in which questions on *logic* are submitted to Ibn Sīnā through Abū l-Qāsim, makes the identification very attractive, considering what we know about Ibn Sīnā’s views on Abū l-Qāsim’s abilities in that field.³⁸ But al-Ġūzġānī also qualifies the identity of Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī as “the friend of Ibrāhīm ibn Bābā ad-Daylamī,” which is an element we find nowhere else. This Ibrāhīm ibn Bābā ad-Daylamī may be the same fellow whose friend was killed by a marauding group of Ḥurāsānī mercenaries who wreaked havoc in Rayy during Rukn ad-Dawla’s emirate in 355/966. Miskawayh reports on this event in his *Taġārib al-umam*:

A quarrel erupted between [the Ḥurāsānīs] and one of Ibrāhīm ibn Bābā’s friends [who we have been told are Daylamī soldiers] who would not tolerate [the unruly behavior of the Ḥurāsānīs]. This led to fighting and this Daylamī man was killed. His companions gathered to fight and about 1,000 of the [Ḥurāsānīs] gathered at Ibrāhīm ibn Bābā’s door. He went out to them as the defender of his friends and stood against them for awhile until Rukn ad-Dawla sent word to him to stop, and he sent a similar message to them. They refused, and the Daylamīs and their supporters rushed out and [both sides] came to blows until nightfall, at which point the Ḥurāsānīs returned to their camp, banging their drums the whole night through and promising further fighting.³⁹

That Miskawayh’s report locates Ibrāhīm ibn Bābā in Rayy is important, since it is in that city that Abū l-Qāsim pursued his early career as a *kātib*, and it is conceivable that Abū l-Qāsim developed a friendship with this Ibrāhīm later in the 4th/10th century.⁴⁰ But al-Ġūzġānī also tells us that Ibrāhīm ibn Bābā (or Abū l-Qāsim himself?) “was engaged in the study of esoteric science.” If Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī was involved in the Bāṭinism evoked in al-Ġūzġānī’s Biography, it would not be unreasonable to assume that some type of reference to such activities would appear among Ibn Sīnā’s insults of the Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī in the *Mubāḥaṭāt*, or indeed

³⁷ Michot, “Une nouvelle oeuvre,” pp. 145-6, and *Ibn Sīnā*, p. 19*, apparently accepts the identification without further examination.

³⁸ The appearance of Abū l-Qāsim as messenger of questions on logic might also be construed as a literary device on al-Ġūzġānī’s part, as it would be difficult to reconcile Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī’s advanced age at this time with his role as messenger.

³⁹ *Taġārib*, 2:223-4; *Eclipse*, V:234ff. Neither Gohlman, *Life*, p. 135, n. 102, nor Michot, *Ibn Sīnā*, p. 19*, n. 4 offered any suggestions as to the identity of Ibrāhīm ibn Bābā ad-Daylamī.

⁴⁰ The date of Miskawayh’s report, 355/966, makes it unlikely that Abū l-Qāsim would have known him in that year since, according to the early chronology of his life presented above, he would have been quite young, if even in Rayy by then; we know only that al-‘Āmirī, perhaps accompanied by Abū l-Qāsim, was in Rayy sometime before 360/970 but not the precise dates of this visit (see Rowson, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5). But Abū l-Qāsim must have stayed on in Rayy, to become a chancellery secretary, after al-‘Āmirī’s departure for Baġdād in 360/970.

even as qualifying descriptions in Ibn Sīnā's Letter to the Vizier Abū Saʿd. No such references can be found.

In addition, al-Ġūzġānī's mention of Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī occurs during his account of Ibn Sīnā's activities in Iṣfahān, that is, some ten years after the disastrous public debate between the two in Hamadān in 405/1015. While the texts of the Mubāḥaṭāt belong to the later part of this period, and Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī does play a role in those texts through his relations with Bahmanyār, it is difficult to understand how Ibn Sīnā could have continued to have cordial relations with Abū l-Qāsim, even if those relations involved no more than the delivery of questions on logic to Ibn Sīnā by Abū l-Qāsim. In fact, the exasperation with Abū l-Qāsim on Ibn Sīnā's part, evident in the Letter to the Vizier Abū Saʿd, the Letter to the Scholars of Baġdād, and the Letter to Bahmanyār (MIII), makes it very likely that Ibn Sīnā would not have wanted to continue any direct contact with Abū l-Qāsim. And while Ibn Sīnā is forced to contend with Abū l-Qāsim in the philosophical discussions that make up the Mubāḥaṭāt, it is precisely because of his exasperation with Abū l-Qāsim that he threatens to terminate the correspondence with Bahmanyār in MIII.

An interesting possibility is that al-Ġūzġānī may have been distinguishing the Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī, messenger for the scholars of Šīrāz, from the Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī of the Mubāḥaṭāt by the qualifying descriptions (friend of Ibrāhīm ibn Bābā; engaged in Bāṭinism) we find attached to his name in the Biography. Such qualifications make very attractive the identification of this Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī in the Biography as al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh aṣ-Šūfī al-Kirmānī, the author of *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* whose father may have been Ismaʿīlī *dāʿin* Ḥamīd ad-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Kirmānī, d.c. 411/1021 (in which case al-Ġūzġānī's epithet of *bāṭinī* to him would also be appropriate).⁴¹

In conclusion, it is likely that the Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī mentioned by al-Ġūzġānī in the Biography is not the same individual as the Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī of the Mubāḥaṭāt.⁴²

We have a very good idea of Ibn Sīnā's reaction to his public debate with Abū l-Qāsim in Hamadān in 405/1015, i.e., he wrote his letters to the vizier Abū Saʿd and the scholars of Baġdād. But what about Abū l-Qāsim's

⁴¹ See D. King's suggestion in note 23 above.

⁴² Another mention of Abū l-Qāsim in the Ibn Sīnā corpus must also be discounted. In the note to Ibn Sīnā which al-Maʿšūmī attached to his responses to Bīrūnī and at the beginning of those responses, al-Maʿšūmī refers to an Abū l-Qāsim who, it seems, brought Bīrūnī's retorts to Ibn Sīnā's original responses and is awaiting additional correspondence; see *al-Aġwiba*, pp. 59-60. There is no evidence that Ibn Sīnā knew Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī as early as 390/1000, shortly before which the Ibn Sīnā-Bīrūnī correspondence is said to have been written. In fact, his Letter to the Vizier Abū Saʿd and his Letter to the Scholars of Baġdād indicate that he first met Abū l-Qāsim in Hamadān in 405/1015.

reaction? In a letter by Ibn Sīnā which he purportedly wrote to al-Ğūzğānī, we find some intimations of a possible course of action taken by Abū l-Qāsim after the debate. Ibn Sīnā wrote this letter⁴³ from Işfahān to an unidentified recipient who was most likely in Rayy. In a number of the manuscripts of this epistle, the recipient is identified as al-Ğūzğānī, but this identification is most likely the work of a scribe. It is unlikely that this letter was addressed to al-Ğūzğānī, for he himself tells us in his Biography that he accompanied Ibn Sīnā to Işfahān around 415/1024, and we have no indication that he was away from his master at any time afterwards. Ibn Sīnā uses the titles “the jurist, my master and chief” (*al-faqīh mawlāya wa-raʿīsī*)⁴⁴ in reference to his recipient; these titles are nowhere else found all together in Ibn Sīnā’s private letters. Ibn Sīnā refers to al-Maʿşūmī as *faqīh* in the treatise on love that he dedicated to him.⁴⁵ Al-Bayhaqī would call al-Ğūzğānī *faqīh* in his entry on him in the *Tatimma*,⁴⁶ but we never find Ibn Sīnā referring to him by this title. In his Letter to Ibn Zayla (see below), we find Ibn Sīnā referring to Ibn Zayla twice as “the philosopher, my master and chief” (*al-ḥakīm mawlāya wa-raʿīsī*) and he refers to the vizier Abū Saʿd as *mawlāya wa-raʿīsī*.⁴⁷

Whoever was the recipient of this letter, it is clear that Ibn Sīnā is writing it from Işfahān, since he expresses his delight at the news that the recipient will join him there. In addition, Ibn Sīnā makes reference in the letter to the loss of his books, an event most likely to be dated to 421/1030 during the sack of Işfahān.⁴⁸ In the letter, Ibn Sīnā responds to news about a controversy over one of his works currently raging in Rayy, incited by someone who he says speaks “nonsense” and “prattle,” indeed who “raves deliriously.” In the course of explaining the source of the present controversy, he makes reference to an earlier controversy which occurred in Hamaḍān.

⁴³ In the present state of research, the main points of this “Letter to al-Ğūzğānī” can only be summarized, considering the very corrupt state of the text in its many exemplars. Ülken’s “edition” (*Opuscles*, 2:41-3) solves none of the very difficult problems evident in the text and adds a number of others. During a research trip to Istanbul in the Summer of 1998 I was able to correct many of Ülken’s readings of MSS Ahmet III 3447, Esat Efendi 3688, and Hamidiye 1447, 1448, as well as collate the text with MS Ayasofya 4849. I have also drawn upon the text as recorded by Māzandarānī (*Hikmat-i Bū ʿAlī Sīnā*, 1:30-36) from an unidentified (likely Iranian) manuscript, as well as his Persian translation.

⁴⁴ The translation and indeed import of the titles and epithets used by Ibn Sīnā and his correspondents remains provisional. To my knowledge, there are no detailed studies of the titles in use in Western Iran in the 5th/11th century.

⁴⁵ ʿĀṣī, p. 243; see al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimma*, p. 95.

⁴⁶ *Tatimma*, p. 93.

⁴⁷ See the incipit in Michot, *Ibn Sīnā*, p. 1 (also transcribed by Michot, “Important recueil,” p. 127, no. 18).

⁴⁸ For details concerning the loss of Ibn Sīnā’s books in the sack of Işfahān in 421/1030 and the unlikely nature of a report about a second loss of books in 425/1034, see Chapter Four, Section II.B.

Ibn Sīnā is clearly referring to an earlier controversy, since he says that a number of the “imbeciles of Hamadān” who were involved are now dead. Ibn Sīnā provides an oblique reference to the earlier charge laid against him in Hamadān: that the literary structure of some homilies (*ḥuṭab*) which he once had “consented to write down” was consciously intended to imitate “what is inimitable by consensus,” i.e., the Qurʾān. These homilies are most likely those now referred to as *al-Ḥuṭba at-tawḥīdīya*.⁴⁹ Ibn Sīnā tells his correspondent that while his copy of the homilies was “lost along with my other belongings,” he may be able to find a copy and bring it to Rayy in order to present it to “the honorable men [in Rayy] who heard the monstrous slander,” allowing them to reach their own conclusions about the nature of those homilies.

The reference to an incident in Hamadān is very important. We know of only one period in which Ibn Sīnā was in Hamadān, between 405-415/1015-1024. His arrival in that city was connected to his service to the Sayyida, as manager of her business affairs (Gohlman, 50/51). Very soon after his arrival he must have engaged in the public debate with Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī if his description in the Letter to the Scholars of Baġdād of the “man from Buḥārā” newly arrived in Hamadān is to be taken at face value. His subsequent employment in the service of the Būyid Šams ad-Dawla was an unstable one. We are told by al-Ġūzġānī that the Būyid troops revolted against Ibn Sīnā, demanding his execution, then of a period of hiding, a subsequent reinstatement with Šams ad-Dawla, and after that ruler had died, and, according to al-Ġūzġānī, Ibn Sīnā had begun his secret correspondence with ‘Alāʾ ad-Dawla, the imprisonment in Fardaġān for four months and, after his release, his flight from the city with his brother and al-Ġūzġānī, dressed as sufis. (Gohlman, 50ff./51ff.) Considering the very serious nature of the charge he describes in the “Letter to al-Ġūzġānī,” it would not be unreasonable to assume that at least some of the problems he encountered in Hamadān are to be attributed to an accusation that he had tried to imitate the Qurʾānic style in his homilies.

The unnamed individual Ibn Sīnā refers to in the letter as the agent of the controversy, the man who speaks prattle and nonsense, is likely to be identified as Abū l-Qāsim. Many of the terms Ibn Sīnā uses in reference to the individual in the letter bear comparison with similar terms with which

⁴⁹ Mahdavi 70 gives the title as *al-Ḥuṭba at-tawḥīdīya*, and many of the manuscripts I have examined entitle it *al-Ḥuṭba al-ġarrāʾ* (see “Avicenna at the ARCE,” q.v.). The work has received no modern scholarly attention, although it appears to have been the subject of a number of medieval commentaries, the most important of which is that by Saʿd ad-Dīn al-Masʿūdī (see Mahdavi 70, *ṣarḥ*). Another copy of the work, with the title *Risālat at-Tamġīd*, was signalled by Michot, “Important recueil,” p. 127, no. 25. I identified still another in MS Carullah Veliyeddin 1279, 1v, on the basis of Franz Rosenthal’s microfilm (I thank Franz Rosenthal for generously lending me this microfilm); cf. Rosenthal, “From Arabic Books and Manuscripts V,” p. 16.

he describes Abū l-Qāsim in other letters: this person is an imbecile (*aḥmaq*), and his words are nonsense (*ḥurāfa*) and prattle (*saḥāfa*).⁵⁰ Finally, in a very telling intimation in the Letter to Bahmanyār, Ibn Sīnā observes: “It does not please me that my books get dragged into it, for more reasons than this one” (MIII:50). This statement could easily be understood to refer to a previous experience in which Ibn Sīnā’s homilies, which he had “once consented to write down,” became the object of controversy.⁵¹

To recapitulate, then, Ibn Sīnā recounts two instances of public controversy in his Letter to al-Ġūzġānī, one that occurred years earlier in Hamaḍān, probably instigated by Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī as a result of the disastrous public debate, and another one, or the old one revived, which has taken the form of slander and rumors heard by the recipient of the letter in Rayy, probably sometime after the loss of Ibn Sīnā’s books in 421/1030, and after Ibn Sīnā had returned to Iṣfahān.⁵² Abū l-Qāsim was again probably the agent of this second controversy.

What was the reason for this second controversy, this time in Rayy? To answer this question, we must examine Abū l-Qāsim’s role in the texts of the Mubāḥaṭāt.

II.A.d. *Abū l-Qāsim’s Participation in The Discussions*

The picture that emerges from a close reading of the texts of the Mubāḥaṭāt is one in which Abū l-Qāsim’s participation is mediated almost entirely through Bahmanyār. In one question, we are provided a brief glimpse at the context in which at least some of the questions posed to Ibn Sīnā were formulated. At MVA:224-228 we find a question which in some manuscripts (e.g., MSS Y and I) is said to be in the hand of an otherwise unknown ‘Abd al-Malik, concerning a passage from *Kitāb an-Nafs* of the *Šifā’* (p. 202.17-18). The following dialogue, presumably between Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī and Bahmanyār was recorded by this ‘Abd al-Malik:

224. S.Ṭ [/*bi-ḥaṭṭ* ‘Abd al-Malik]. It was said in the *Šifā’* in the discussion of the survival of the soul, ‘It is impossible that accidents and forms subsisting in matter would bestow existence on an essence that subsists by

⁵⁰ Compare the terms used in MIII, Ibn Sīnā’s Letter to Bahmanyār, where we most often find words from the root *h.w.s*: *hawas*, prattle (MIII:96, 116), *tahawussāt*, blind ravings (MIII:65), etc. Note also the contrast between the impoliteness (*sū’ al-adab*) Ibn Sīnā attributes to people like Abū l-Qāsim and Miskawayh in the same letter with the politeness or decorum (*iḥtišām*) that he expects (MIII:113). The same contrast is made in the Letter to al-Ġūzġānī (Ülken, p. 41.10-14). We also find the terms *hudā’* and *hadayān*, blind ravings, employed in both letters (MIII:50; Letter to al-Ġūzġānī, p. 41.12).

⁵¹ Ibn Sīnā’s strong restrictions against the dissemination of the *Išārāt wa-t-tanbīhāt*, outlined in MI:2, should also be considered in light of a possible public controversy over his works, particularly since these restrictions seem to be applied to Abū l-Qāsim in MI.

⁵² For the sequence of Ibn Sīnā’s movements after the sack of Iṣfahān in 421/1030, see the Chronology of Ibn Sīnā’s Life and Works in Appendix G below.

itself, not in matter, and bestow the existence of an absolute substance.'

Abū l-Qāsim said: 'Why is it impossible?' So we said: 'Because the corporeal forms act through the mediation of matter, and that is completed by means of a position.'

225. [Abū l-Qāsim] said: 'Just as body can flow out from intellect, so too intellect can flow out from body. The effect need not be of the same genus as the cause.'

As part of his response, Ibn Sīnā says: "What you [plural] said in response to him [i.e., Abū l-Qāsim] is also fine, but the meaning of what you said is not what either you or he maintain" (MVa:228). What we find in this passage is a record of a study session held by Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī, Bahmanyār, and others (or at least this 'Abd al-Malik) in which Ibn Sīnā's *Šifā'* was read and discussed. The discussion of certain passages of the *Šifā'* produced a debate which in turn led to the questions posed to Ibn Sīnā and sent by Bahmanyār to Ibn Sīnā for resolution.⁵³

However, there are indications that meetings took place with Ibn Sīnā in attendance and, in fact, early texts of the Mubāḥaṭāt (according to the order presented in Chapter Four) contain references to meetings in Rayy (see MIVb:183, MII:44). Further details concerning the relative dating for these meetings in Rayy will be found in the next chapter. These references to Rayy indicate that at least some of the issues addressed in the Mubāḥaṭāt texts were the subject of discussion in meetings in Rayy. Of relevance here is the reference to Abū l-Qāsim's reading of the *Šifā'* to Ibn Sīnā that we find in Ibn Sīnā's third Letter to Bahmanyār (MIII:56): "As for stating the argument establishing the existence of the soul on the basis of a proposition in which perception of the essence is a requisite, then that Šayḥ already took my counsel in that when he read back to me *Kitāb an-Nafs* of the *Šifā'* while I was refraining [from discussing it with him]. And I said to him: 'This is not one of the arguments which you are forced to accept....'" Throughout this letter Ibn Sīnā refers to Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī as "that Šayḥ," so we can be relatively certain that Ibn Sīnā is here recounting an actual meeting with Abū l-Qāsim.⁵⁴ It is possible to link one of these meetings in Rayy to the composition of the "Memoirs of a Disciple from Rayy" (MIVa), which contains a reference to Ibn Sīnā's "return to Rayy" (MIVa:129).⁵⁵ It is no coincidence that this letter, which concerns Ibn Sīnā's

⁵³ Such narrative accounts of prior study sessions among Bahmanyār, Abū l-Qāsim, and others might not be rare in the Mubāḥaṭāt, but they may be difficult to identify without the explicit mention of names; compare, for instance, MIVb:148ff.

⁵⁴ See MIII:50, 69 (correct the reading to *dālika š-šayḥ*, following MSS Y, L1), 74, 75. See also MVa:249 (where *aš-šayḥ Abū l-Qāsim* at 246 is explicitly linked to *dālika š-šayḥ*). Bahmanyār is distinguished from Abū l-Qāsim in MIII by the designation *aš-šayḥ* without demonstrative (MIII:52) or *aš-šayḥ al-fāḍil* (MIII:47, 62).

⁵⁵ Cf. Gutas, *Avicenna*, p. 67.

views of the Baǧdādī scholars, is linked to a visit to Rayy when Ibn Sīnā probably debated with Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī about a passage from *Kitāb an-Nafs*. For just as Ibn Sīnā had written his Letter to the Scholars of Baǧdād after his first meeting with Abū l-Qāsim in Hamadān in 405/1015, we can suggest that his “anonymous disciple” wrote his “memoirs” which, despite the title Gutas has given it, is a letter to an unnamed colleague in Baǧdād, after a similar meeting between Ibn Sīnā and Abū l-Qāsim in Rayy. The relative dating for the reading session with Abū l-Qāsim also accords with the time in which we may assume the revival of a controversy in Rayy, recounted in the Letter to al-Ǧūzǧānī, took place

Abū l-Qāsim’s participation in the Mubāḥaṭāt, then, likely began with a meeting between himself, Bahmanyār, and other scholars, and Ibn Sīnā in Rayy, and continued as a correspondence orchestrated by Bahmanyār between that group and Ibn Sīnā, prompted by readings in the *Šifāʾ*. It is difficult to know how long Abū l-Qāsim’s participation continued, for, as we noted above, Ibn Sīnā lost his patience with the type of argumentation Abū l-Qāsim employed in commenting on Ibn Sīnā’s philosophy. Ibn Sīnā’s exasperation with Abū l-Qāsim might also be the result of the renewed controversy in Rayy. His loss of patience leads to his threatening Bahmanyār with an immediate disruption of the correspondence, as we saw in MIII:113-114, translated above. Nonetheless, there are references to Abū l-Qāsim in some of the texts that follow MIII in the chronological order of the Mubāḥaṭāt as a whole (e.g., MVIb2:513), so it can be assumed that Abū l-Qāsim continued to play a role (through Bahmanyār) in determining not only the content but also, to a greater or lesser extent, the tone of the discussions with Ibn Sīnā.⁵⁶

Finally, there is some evidence to suggest that Abū l-Qāsim may have addressed questions to Ibn Sīnā on his own behalf, although this evidence is derived almost entirely from scribal indications in three probably related manuscripts. Mahdavī (6a) noted that in MS Ṭabāṭabāʾī 1376 of a work referred to as “10 Questions,” the questioner is identified as Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī, and M. T. Dānišpažūh noted the same ascription in exemplars in the Miškāt and Sipahsālār collections (see Miškāt cat. 3:1, 169-70, and Sipahsālār cat., 3:275). In Chapter One, Part Two (Section I.A.b.1), I clarified some of the problems with the works known as “10 Questions,” noting especially that Mahdavī assigned the title “10 Questions” to two different works. Abū l-Qāsim’s name is associated with “10 Questions (a)” in the Iranian manuscripts, while “10 Questions (b)” actually contains some questions and answers now found among the Mubāḥaṭāt texts (this was noted by Mahdavī 6b) and others that bear thematic comparison with the issues raised in the Mubāḥaṭāt texts. In his identification of Abū l-Qāsim

⁵⁶ Preliminary characteristics of the “tone” of the discussions can be found in Chapter Four.

al-Kirmānī as the author of *Risāla fī Uṣūl al-aḥkām an-nuḡūmīya*, Sezgin relates Abū l-Qāsim's purported interest in astrology to the fourth question in "10 Questions (a)," which asks whether the sun, moon, and other planets are alive or not.⁵⁷ Aside from the scribal indication in some Iranian manuscripts that Abū l-Qāsim was the questioner in "10 Questions (a)," there is no other particularly compelling evidence, including Sezgin's, that links Abū l-Qāsim to "10 Questions (a)." "10 Questions (b)" exists only in an exemplar which is said to have been copied from Ibn Sīnā's hand and which displays serious damage. Moreover, while it does in fact contain ten questions and responses, it is not entitled such (*contra* Mahdavī and Anawatī). The fact that the majority of the questions and responses in this "10 Questions (b)" are found in the texts of the Mubāḥaṭāt suggests that rather than being an independent work it is actually Ibn Sīnā's copy of some of the questions he was asked as part of the Mubāḥaṭāt series. But interestingly, Ibn Sīnā himself makes reference to a "10 Questions" in the Mubāḥaṭāt at MVb:

270. S.Ṭ. What is the proof that the intellect which makes the intelligibles is not a body? For the [preceding] proof applies only to what contains the intelligibles, not to what makes the intelligibles.⁵⁸ And the response which was set forth is not persuasive.

271. Ğ.Ṭ. The intellect which makes the intelligibles also contains the intelligibles, like concomitants of its essence, so it intellects them in itself as coming from itself, and in other things as well. This was one of the 10

⁵⁷ Sezgin, GAS, VII:193, n. 1; correct Sezgin's reference to Mahdavī to pp. 15-16. With regard to "10 Questions (a)," there has been some confusion over whether Bīrūnī is to be identified as the questioner. This false ascription is to be traced to Mahdavī's misreading of MS Ayasofya 4853 (Mahdavī 6a), a misreading that he inexplicably attributes to Anawatī (A2, 38; Anawatī 2 does call the work *Masā'il fī l-ḥikma ḡawāban li-Abī Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī* [on the basis of what manuscript?], but he does not quote the line that Mahdavī quotes). The title that Mahdavī cites, on the authority of Anawatī, from Ayasofya 4853 actually belongs to the next treatise in the codex which is, in fact, the Ibn Sīnā—Bīrūnī correspondence. [The original *fihrist*, on f. 2r of AS 4853 has the title *Aḡwibat masā'il Arisṭū*; the later *fihrist*, f. 3r, has *Risālat aḡwiba fī masā'il Arisṭū*. The "10 Questions (a)" in this codex (ff. 13v-18r) bears the titles *Aḡwiba 'an aṣar masā'il* (original *fihrist*) and *Risāla fī aḡwibat 'aṣarat (sic) masā'il* (later *fihrist*).] Mübahat Türker Küyel noted this error as early as 1974, along with Mahdavī's misattribution of it to Anawatī ("Les réponses à dix questions," p. 89, and 91, n. 7.). Michot (*Ibn Sīnā*, p. 23*, n. 1) has reinstated the error in an ironic manner: in arguing against Sezgin's identification of Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī as the questioner of "10 Questions (a)," he claims that Bīrūnī has also been proposed as the questioner, and cites the article by Mübahat Türker Küyel!

⁵⁸ The two instances of *yaf'alu*, translated here as "makes," must be read instead of MS B's readings *ya'qilu*. The readings *yaf'alu* are found in nearly all other MSS; compare also Ibn Sīnā's use of *yaf'alu* in his response here. Ultimately though, we can confirm this reading from the question at 200, which is the question to which 270 is a follow-up (and 200 is a follow-up to 184-9): "What is the proof that the active intellects are not bodies, for the proof is based on the fact that the thing that is affected by the intelligibles when the intelligibles inhere in it is not a body, but as for the thing that makes (*yaf'alu*) the intellects not being a body, this is still unclear to me by the proof." We are to understand from this that the questioner believes that the active intellect or intellects "make" the intelligibles.

*Questions*⁵⁹ which were secret, so let him disclose them, since⁶⁰ he did not pay attention when he had holy certainties.^{61,62}

The “10 Questions (a),” some of the exemplars of which identify Abū l-Qāsim as the questioner, does not contain any passages that could be construed as addressing the issues Ibn Sīnā refers to in MVb:270-1 translated above. It is conceivable that Ibn Sīnā could be responding to Abū l-Qāsim in MVb:270-1, and referring Abū l-Qāsim to the ten questions he is said to have asked him, but if that is the case, it is not to the “10 Questions (a)” that he is being referred. This, however, does not discount the possibility that “10 Questions (a)” is in fact another series of questions asked by Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī of Ibn Sīnā, but in lieu of additional evidence to confirm what appears to be a scribal addition to an exemplar of the “10 Questions (a),” there is no way to corroborate this possibility.⁶³ The theme of the question in MVb:270, i.e., whether or not what is referred to as the Active Intellect is in fact a body bears an interesting correspondence with the one and only identifiable reference Ibn Sīnā makes to al-ʿĀmirī, Abū l-Qāsim’s teacher. As E. Rowson has reported, “In his *K. al-Nağāh*, Ibn Sīnā refutes the opinion that the beings which move the spheres by being desired are bodies rather than separate Intelligences, ‘so that for example, the inferior body would be like the prior, nobler body, as the ponderous (*fadm*) Abū l-Ḥasan al-ʿĀmirī thought, who was one of the worst of the Islamic philosophers at muddling philosophy, since he did not understand the intention (*gharaḍ*) of the Ancients.’”⁶⁴ Rowson was unable to locate any such doctrine in al-ʿĀmirī’s extant works; it might not be too far-fetched to

⁵⁹ Read *al-masāʾil al-ʿaṣr* for *al-masāʾil al-ʿaṣara*.

⁶⁰ Read *fa-yubih bihā* (cohortative) for *f.y.b.i.h bi-hā* read. Bīdārfar, and *id* (cf. 845, p. 302) for *aw*.

⁶¹ *ḡalāya muqaddasa*, i.e., certain knowledge through the faculty of the sacred soul (*nafs qudsīya*); cf. MVa:238 (transl. Gutas, *Intuition*, p. 10 and n. 29), and MVIc:737.

⁶² The repetition of 271 at 845 appears to be part of a commentary (by Abū l-Qāsim?) on Ibn Sīnā’s response at 271.

⁶³ In fact, the questions that are asked in “10 Questions (a)” appear to be remarkably simplistic, and while Ibn Sīnā did not have a very high view of Abū l-Qāsim’s philosophical abilities, the Abū l-Qāsim who appears in the Mubāḥaṭāt is capable of asking very refined questions (in a dialectical sense). It should also be noted that the argument presented above also does not discount the possibility that Ibn Sīnā is responding to a question put to him by Abū l-Qāsim (most likely through Bahmanyār) at MVb:270-1, since we know that Abū l-Qāsim was preoccupied with whether or not the intellect could be corporeal or come from a body (see MVa:225). If this possibility proves correct, then we might posit a set of ten “secret” questions between Abū l-Qāsim and Bahmanyār and Ibn Sīnā, to which Ibn Sīnā is referring at MVb: 270-1. The scribe or recensor who identified Abū l-Qāsim as the questioner of “10 Questions (a)” might then have known of such a series of questions (through reading the Mubāḥaṭāt?) and mistakenly identified these “secret” questions as “10 Questions (a).”

⁶⁴ *A Muslim Philosopher*, p. 28.

imagine that in the *Nağāt* Ibn Sīnā was damning the teacher for the sins of the student.

In conclusion, it is quite possible that the Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī who played a role in the *Mubāḥaṭāt* texts can be identified with the “apprentice” of al-ʿĀmirī, later the chancellery secretary in the Būyid bureau at Rayy, who would compose a commentary on the *Eisagoge* and *Categories* in his early years as a scholar, who may have taken an interest in astrology, and who in later years perhaps played a part in the recensions of *Šiwān al-ḥikma*. At the very least, we know from the Letter to the Vizier Abū Saʿd that an Abū l-Qāsim and Ibn Sīnā held a public debate that turned sour and as a result defined the hostile relations Ibn Sīnā would continue to have with him. Ibn Sīnā’s hostile attitude grows sharper through the progression of texts: Letter to the Vizier, Letter to the Scholars of Baḡdād (written around the same time after 405/1015), the Letter to al-Ğüzğānī, and the Letters to Bahmanyār in the *Mubāḥaṭāt* (MI-MIII). The culmination of Ibn Sīnā’s abuse of Abū l-Qāsim in MIII is probably not a simple matter of intellectual differences, but was prompted by a second round of public calumny of Ibn Sīnā by Abū l-Qāsim which is outlined in the Letter to al-Ğüzğānī. Ibn Sīnā’s poor relations with Abū l-Qāsim may also have become a part of his refutations of the Baḡdādī scholars, since it is likely that Abū l-Qāsim, in addition to his studies with al-ʿĀmirī and relations with Miskawayh, may have also linked himself with the Baḡdādī school of philosophy (as Ibn Sīnā says he does in his Letter to the Scholars of Baḡdād). Abū l-Qāsim played a role in the *Mubāḥaṭāt* through the mediation of Bahmanyār, but there may be some evidence (i.e., in the still unidentified “Ten Secret Questions”) that he also conducted a correspondence with Ibn Sīnā independently of the *Mubāḥaṭāt* series.

II.B. *Bahmanyār ibn al-Marzubān*

II.B.a. *Biographical Particulars*

Bahmanyār’s name is the subject of a great deal of confusion in both the medieval and modern sources. Ibn Sīnā himself refers to him only by his title aš-Šayḥ al-Fāḍil (and sometimes just as aš-Šayḥ).⁶⁵ Perhaps the most reliable source for his complete name is MS Petermann II 466 (see Chapter One, I.A.d.1) in the introduction to one of the fascicles of *Mubāḥaṭāt* materials, where we find (35v.3): Abū l-Ḥusayn Bahmanyār ibn al-Marzubān, added to which is *al-kātib*, the chancellery secretary. In other manuscripts of *Mubāḥaṭāt* materials we find: Bahmanyār ibn al-Marzubān (MSS B, A, Š); Bahmanyār (MSS Y, E); and in one title page al-Kiyā Bahmanyār (MS

⁶⁵ MI:1 (following readings of MSS Y, L1); MII:32, 46; MIII:47, 52 (*aš-Šayḥ* only), 66; etc.

L). The incipits of the manuscripts of his *at-Taḥṣīl* generally accord in calling him Bahmanyār ibn Marzubān.⁶⁶

The biographers are no less uniform. Al-Bayhaqī, the earliest of the biographers, names him simply Bahmanyār, which aš-Šahrazūrī, who based his report on al-Bayhaqī, has transformed into Bahmanyār ibn al-Marzubānī.⁶⁷ Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a (p. 458) gives his name as Abū l-Ḥasan Bahmanyār ibn al-Marzubān; the *kunya* Abū l-Ḥasan instead of Abū l-Ḥusayn here we might assume to be an instance of a common enough error. It was certainly taken over by the fanciful biographer al-Ḥwānsārī.⁶⁸ In the otherwise unreliable *Chahār Maqāla* of Niẓāmī ‘Arūdī, his title is given as Kiyā Ra’īs.⁶⁹ This is the only instance in which we find the title Kiyā Ra’īs. We do have slim evidence that Bahmanyār bore the title Kiyā⁷⁰ from MS L, but it is more likely that both instances of Kiyā are the result of confusing Kiyā Abū Ğa‘far (the recipient of the “Letter to Kiyā”) with Bahmanyār, since we might assume that Ibn Sīnā would have used this title and not aš-Šayḥ al-Fāḍil in his correspondence with Bahmanyār.⁷¹

That Bahmanyār and al-Kiyā Abū Ğa‘far should not be confused is evident enough from the testimony of MS Cairo Ma‘ārif ‘Āmma Ṭal‘at 197 of the “Letter to Kiyā,” where we find in the colophon (35v) al-Kiyā al-Ġalīl Abū Ğa‘far Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Marzubānī.⁷² In the intro-

⁶⁶ This is the case, with the one exception of an unidentified manuscript which Muṭahharī (p. 1) inexplicably chose to follow in the text of his edition, which has Bahmanyār al-Marzubān.

⁶⁷ For al-Bayhaqī, see *Tatimma*, ed. Šafrī, p. 91, *Durra*, p. 57. Aš-Šahrazūrī’s testimony (p. 316) may in fact be that of the modern editor.

⁶⁸ *Rawḍa*, 2:153ff. Daiber’s article “Bahmanyār” in *Elr* is somewhat flawed by his reliance on al-Ḥwānsārī and Niẓāmī ‘Arūdī, the two most unreliable sources of information for the period in question. For instance, al-Ḥwānsārī, p. 155, says that Bahmanyār was a student of al-Lawkarī!

⁶⁹ Persian text (First edition by Qazvīnī), p. 82; translated by E.G. Browne, p. 92.

⁷⁰ I reiterate my hesitancy to translate and interpret the import of the titles used by Ibn Sīnā and his contemporaries until such time as a comprehensive study of titles in Western Iran has been undertaken for the period in question.

⁷¹ The fact that Ibn Sīnā makes a point of calling Bahmanyār “aš-Šayḥ al-Fāḍil” and Abū Ğa‘far Muḥammad “al-Kiyā al-Fāḍil” surely must be given more authority than any of the surmises by later biographers or scribes.

⁷² Virtually nothing is known of al-Kiyā Abū Ğa‘far, although Ibn Sīnā’s letter to him has been studied in detail by modern scholars (see especially Pines, “Philosophie orientale,” and Gutas, *Avicenna*, Text 12). The testimony of MS Cairo Ma‘ārif ‘Āmma Ṭal‘at 197 for his full name is the only one that I have personally examined, although Badawī at *Mubāḥaṭāt*, p. 119, n. 1 provides another version from an unknown source: Abū Ğa‘far Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn ibn al-Marzubān. His version is followed implicitly by Mahdavi 11, 12, who also records the variant “ibn al-Ḥasan” in place of “ibn Ḥusayn” from MS Maḡlis 634. The variants al-Marzubān and al-Marzubānī, seen also in Bahmanyār’s name, may signify different things: the first a title (“lord of the marches” = margrave) or in later times a name, the second a more distant reference to an ancestor, given by Arabic biographers in *nisba* form (see Kramer and Morony, “Marzpan,” *EI2*, and for an excellent revision of our knowledge of the Persian office of *marzpan*, Ph. Gignoux, “L’organisation administrative”). Ibn Sīnā makes reference to ‘Alā’ ad-Dawla’s *maḡlis* in his Letter to Kiyā (Badawī, p. 119.12, Bīdārfar, p. 371.13), which links al-Kiyā Abū Ğa‘far to the

duction to the same letter, Ibn Sīnā gives this person the title al-Kiyā al-Fāḍil (see Bīdārfar, p. 371). Nizāmī ‘Arūḍī’s ascription to Bahmanyār of the title Kiyā Ra’īs has been followed to varying degrees of confusion by modern biographers, resulting in the most egregious case in the explanation that Ibn Sīnā “later in life gave Bahmanyār the title al-Kiyā, meaning ar-Ra’īs or al-Muqaddim whereas it was his custom to give his other students titles such as al-Faqīh or al-Ḥakīm.”⁷³ There are no comprehensive studies of the various titles scholars, politicians, and military men held in the Būyid period in Western Iran, but it seems entirely unlikely that such titles would be the provenance of individual whim.

Al-Bayhaqī’s statement that Bahmanyār was a Zoroastrian is probably correct, although it is equally possible that al-Bayhaqī inferred this from his very name. Al-Ḥwānsārī’s additional comment, that Bahmanyār eventually converted, is probably wishful thinking, but may itself be based on Bahmanyār’s *kunya* Abū l-Ḥasan, which was unknown to al-Bayhaqī.⁷⁴

Al-Bayhaqī also tells us that Bahmanyār was originally from Āḍarbāyğān.

Kākūyid court in Iṣfahān sometime after Ibn Sīnā’s arrival there in 422/1024. In light of this link between al-Kiyā Abū Ğā’far and the Kākūyid court at Iṣfahān, it would be very tempting to identify him as ‘Alā’ ad-Dawla’s cousin Abū Ğā’far against whom the Kurds of Šābūr-Ḥwāst rebelled in 417/1026 (see Ibn al-Aṭīr, *Kāmil*, 8:155; the incident is referred to by Bosworth, “Dailamīs,” p. 75). We know that Ibn Sīnā accompanied ‘Alā’ ad-Dawla to Šābūr-Ḥwāst and would there have met this cousin (see Gutas, *Avicenna*, p. 104, and the references cited there). [If Rustam Dušmanziyār’s father was really named Marzubān (on which see the note concerning Marzubān ibn Rustam below), then we might accordingly modify Bosworth’s genealogical table, op. cit., p. 95 as follows: <Al-Kiyā> Abū Ğā’far ibn <al-Ḥasan or al-Ḥusayn> (in place of “Fulān”) ibn Marzubān. Admittedly, this identification is purely speculative.]

⁷³ Khodeiri, *Silsila*, p. 54; Khodeiri’s fabrication was followed by ad-Dībāğī in the introduction to his edition of al-Lawkarī’s *Bayān al-ḥaqq*, p. 9, with the not surprising result that he confused Bahmanyār and al-Kiyā (cf. the reference *ibid.*, n. 5). Daiber, op. cit., combines in the title of his article, scil. “Bahmanyār, Kiyā Ra’īs Abu’l-Ḥasan b. Marzbān A’jamī Āḍarbāyğānī,” the testimonies of Nizāmī ‘Arūḍī and al-Ḥwānsārī. To Daiber’s credit, however, he does not concatenate Bahmanyār with al-Kiyā, whom he calls “Abū Ja’far Moḥammad b. Ḥosayn b. Marzbān” which he derived from Mahdavi. [In a private communication, Daiber informs me that his references to “Mahdawī, p. 202” in the EIr article, should be to *id.*, pp. 20-2.] Badawī, *al-Mubāḥaṭāt*, p. 119, n. 1, refers to al-Kiyā as Abū Ğā’far Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn ibn al-Marzubān al-Kiyā, with no indication of his source. MS C certainly does not contain this information.] Sa’īd Nafīsī, *Pūr Sīnā*, p. 127, also calls Bahmanyār Kiyā Ra’īs. Finally, J. Michot, “Nouvelle oeuvre,” p. 154, implicitly identifies Bahmanyār with al-Kiyā, by whom he presumably means al-Kiyā Abū Ğā’far.

⁷⁴ *Rawḍa*, p. 156; it should be noted that the context in which we are told that Bahmanyār converted to Islam is a lengthy disquisition on the sins of philosophers, in particular wine-drinking. Al-Ḥwānsārī would also have us believe that Bahmanyār’s uncle, for whom he composed *at-Taḥṣīl*, also converted (p. 153), a fact he states is well-known (*mašhūr*); but considering the fact that al-Ḥwānsārī has not even correctly reported the uncle’s name (it should be Abū Manṣūr Bahrām ibn Ḥūršīd ibn Yazdyār, following *at-Taḥṣīl*, p. 1, not Abū Manṣūr *ibn* Bahrām ibn Ḥūršīd ibn B.r.d.yār as al-Ḥwānsārī has it (followed by Daiber, op. cit.)), it is likely that not much of anything about the uncle was well-known to him. However, the presence of the *kunyas* Abū l-Ḥusayn and Abū Manṣūr in the names, respectively, of Bahmanyār and Bahrām, if not mere invention, might suggest conversion, and that probably to a form of Šī’ism. This would accord with what we know of the Bāwandid Ispahbads’ religious allegiances from the numismatic evidence; see note below.

There is no reason to doubt this. However, a remarkably astute hypothesis concerning Bahmanyār's parentage was incidentally suggested by Michot and it deserves closer examination. Michot suggested that Bahmanyār's father may have been Marzubān ibn Rustam, the brother of the Sayyida who was mother of Mağd ad-Dawla.⁷⁵ Michot calls this Marzubān the "Lord of Firrīm," by which he means the Bāwandid Ispahbad whose family held the fortress of Firrīm in the province of Māzandarān, north of Rayy in the Elburz Mountains and for whom we have coins minted in 371/981 and 374/984-5. This Marzubān ibn Rustam is thought to be the author of the famous *Marzbān-nāmah*, a 4th/10th century *adab* work originally written in the Ṭabarī dialect of "old Persian."⁷⁶ He is probably also the ruler to whom Bīrūnī dedicated a work on astronomy sometime around the year 389/999 and whom he calls Marzubān ibn Rustām, Ispahbad Ğīl-i Ğīlān.⁷⁷ It should

⁷⁵ "Nouvelle oeuvre," p. 154.

⁷⁶ See J. H. Kramer's article "Marzbān-nāma," EI2, 6:632, and the genealogy given by Mīrzā Muḥammad Qazvīnī in the introduction to his edition of the *Marzbān-nāma*, p. 6 (repeated in E.G. Browne's English introduction of the same volume, p. xiii), which should be modified according to P. Casanova's observation, "Les Ispehbeds," pp. 121, and 123, n. 1, that Rustam was son of Šarwīn, not of Šahriyār ibn Šarwīn.

⁷⁷ Information about the Bāwandid Ispahbads of the late 4th/10th and early 5th/11th centuries must be pieced together from numismatic evidence and literary sources which are often at odds with one another. The Kā'ūsīya line of the Bāwandids, which included Marzubān ibn Rustam, were centered at Firrīm (=Šahriyārkūh), the precise location of which remains undetermined (see Bosworth, "Firrīm," p. 309, who favors Casanova's well-argued theory that Firrīm is the same as Fīrūzkūh in the Elburz mountain chain between Sāri and Tehran; cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, Map V, who presents a different theory), but which was certainly north of Rayy in Māzandarān. That Bīrūnī dedicated his *Kitāb Maqālīd 'ilm al-hay'a* to a Marzubān ibn Rustam we know from his own *Fihrist* of his works (see Sachau's edition of *al-Ātār al-bāqīya*, introduction, p. xxxx [sic]; for the title Ğīl-i Ğīlān, which Bīrūnī employs after Marzubān's name, compare the case of an earlier ruler in Ṭabaristān (Māzandarān), Māzyār ibn Kārin of the Kārinwand line who called himself Ğīl-i Ğīlān Ispahbad; see "Ispahbadh," EI2, 207a). Bīrūnī also provides us with a report from this Marzubān ibn Rustam in his *al-Ātār al-bāqīya* (ed. Sachau, p. 209), and it is on the basis of this reference that we can date his relations with Marzubān to sometime before 390/1000, when he composed the *Ātār* for Qābūs ibn Vušmagīr during the latter's second reign (see Sachau, intro., xxiv-xxv). Two coins minted at Firrīm in Marzubān's name and recognizing the overlordship of Faḥr ad-Dawla at Rayy are dated 371/981 and 374/984-5 (see Madelung, *Cambridge History of Iran*, IV:217, and "Āl-e Bāvand," EIr, 1:748). [Note that these coins bear the name Marzubān ibn Šarwīn, and we must understand that Marzubān omitted his father's name, Rustam, from his name, and in so doing connected his rule with that of his grandfather Šarwīn. This is not surprising, since apparently Rustam came to power by allying himself with the Būyids after Rukn ad-Dawla had driven his brother Šahriyār from Rayy. On Rustam's coins, this usurpation of Šahriyār's rule is reflected in the fact that Rustam's name is hidden in the mint-date formula (for this series of coins from 353-369/964-980, see Miles, "Coinage of the Bāwandids," pp. 444ff.).] Marzubān's own rule was contested by his brother (?) Šarvān (see Madelung, "Āl-e Bāvand," p. 748), for whom we have a coin dated 375/985-6, which does not recognize Būyid overlordship, and by his nephew Šahriyār ibn Dārā ibn Rustam, for whom we have one coin dated 376/986-7 and which recognizes Faḥr ad-Dawla as the Būyid overlord (Miles's dating, *ibid.*, p. 451, of Šahriyār's reign as c. 358-396/969-1006 is based on the 15th-century historian Zāhīr ad-Dīn al-Mar'āšī's statement that he reigned for 35 years [see Dorn's edition, *Muhammadanische Quellen*,

be noted here that, while the dates of rule we can assign this Marzubān ibn Rustam would allow him to have a son named Bahmanyār who lived until around 458/1066, the historians provide us with the names of only two of his (older?) sons: Sahl and Ibrāhīm.⁷⁸ Until more detailed information concerning the very tumultuous period of Iranian history in which Bahmanyār lived comes to light, this hypothesis for his parentage must remain provisional. If it can be verified, however, we will have to modify al-Bayhaqī's "al-ʿAḍar-bāyḡānī" to "al-Māzandarānī," or rather "Ṭabarī," the *nisba* for Ṭabaristān, the name by which the Arab and Persian geographers of al-Bayhaqī's day knew this province.⁷⁹

A slim piece of evidence from manuscript E, which we have identified as

1850, p. 191] and which cannot be taken seriously). [Note that all series of Bāwandid coins from this period employ the Šīrī formula *ʿAlī walī allāh*; see Miles, op. cit., pp. 444-5.] Our picture of Marzubān's fortunes is clouded somewhat by the historians who, in recounting the struggle between Marzubān and his nephew Šahriyār with the backing of Būyids and Ziyārids respectively, tell us that a *Rustam* ibn Marzubān was invested with the title Ispahbad in 389/998 by Maḡd ad-Dawla (probably by the Sayyida, considering Maḡd ad-Dawla's young age). This Rustam is said to be Maḡd ad-Dawla's maternal uncle (i.e., the Sayyida's brother). Casanova, op. cit., p. 123, resolved this problem (there is no evidence for a Rustam ibn Marzubān in the dynasty) by noting that erroneous inversions of Bāwandid rulers' names are common to the historians. Madelung has consistently followed Casanova's theory in all of his publications (e.g., *Cambridge History of Iran*, IV:218, "Āl-e Bāvand," 1:748) and has noted that the error is to be traced to al-ʿUṭbī's *Kitāb-i Yamīnī* (composed 410/1020) on which all later historians rely (e.g., Ibn Isfandīyār, Ibn al-Aṭīr). Bosworth, on the other hand ("Dailamīs," p. 73, "Kākūyids," EI2, p. 465) has followed Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, pp. 197, 445, in arguing that this Rustam ibn Marzubān is to be identified as Rustam Dušmanziyār ibn Marzubān, the father of the Kākūyid ruler ʿAlāʾ ad-Dawla. This hypothesis is appealing, since the sources consistently call ʿAlāʾ ad-Dawla by the *nasab* Ibn Kākūya, explained as "son of the maternal uncle," i.e., the maternal uncle of Maḡd ad-Dawla (see "Dailamīs," p. 74 and n. 3). This would mean that Maḡd ad-Dawla invested Rustam Dušmanziyār with control of Firrīm as Ispahbad. Unfortunately, this hypothesis cannot be correct, since there is no evidence that the Kākūyids are ever referred to as Ispahbads or said to operate from Firrīm in the sources, two characteristics which we can unhesitatingly ascribe to the Bāwandids. [Bosworth may have finally relinquished this theory, since there is no sign of it in his *New Islamic Dynasties*, p. 160 (where we should correct "Muḥammad was the maternal uncle" to "*Rustam* was the maternal uncle").] It would seem, then, that Marzubān ibn Rustam is the Bāwandid who finally won out against his nephew Šahriyār through the support of his sororal nephew Maḡd ad-Dawla in 389/998. It was probably shortly after this investiture that Bīrūnī visited him and dedicated his *Maqālīd* to him; Madelung accordingly dates this visit to 389/999 (ibid.). Thus, Marzubān ibn Rustam, who was perhaps the father of Bahmanyār, ruled sporadically as Ispahbad of Firrīm during the last two decades of the 4th/10th century and perhaps during the early decades of the 5th/11th century as well, if the anonymous Ispahbad who supported Maḡd ad-Dawla against a rebel in 407/1016-17 referred to by Ibn al-Aṭīr (Madelung, "Āl-e Bāvand," p. 749) can be identified as Marzubān.

⁷⁸ See Rabino, "Les dynasties du Māzandarān," p. 419. Note that Rabino's discussion is based solely on the literary sources and, while his genealogical table on p. 416 is the most complete we have, it is accordingly flawed by the confusion in those sources over the identities of Marzubān ibn Rustam and Rustam ibn Marzubān.

⁷⁹ See V. Minorsky, "Māzandarān," EI2, p. 935; Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 368. The anonymous author of *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, writing around 372/982, called the region that included Ṭabaristān Daylamān; see the translation by Minorsky, p. 385.

Bahmanyār's recension of the *Mubāḥaṭāt*, might support the geographical localization of Bahmanyār's family in Māzandarān. In Chapter One, Part Two (Section II.A.d.) it was noted that this manuscript bears two colophons, an earlier one which was crossed out and a later one which, in conjunction with a purchase note, suggests the locale of British India. The earlier colophon states that the copy was made by an individual bearing the *nisbas* al-Lāhiḡānī al-Kīlānī (i.e., Persian Gīlānī) in 1091/1680. These *nisbas* would indicate that the copyist or his family originally came from Lāhiḡān, a town within Gīlān, a province at one time considered part of Māzandarān.⁸⁰ The individual for whom this al-Lāhiḡānī made his copy is said to have come from Akbarābād, "one of the towns of Hindūstān," i.e., India, and we know that by the 14th century Indian merchants were active in Māzandarān.⁸¹ The manuscript was later purchased at Lucknow, which would explain a transfer from Māzandarān to "Hindūstān." The fact that the unique copy of Bahmanyār's recension of the *Mubāḥaṭāt* can be linked to Māzandarān may increase the likelihood of his relation to the Bāwandid Ispahbads of that region.

In addition to the name of Bahmanyār's father, we also know the name of his maternal uncle (*ḡāl*) to whom Bahmanyār dedicated his *at-Taḡṣīl*. This individual is identified as Abū Maṣṣūr Bahrām ibn Ḥūršīd ibn Yazdyār.⁸² Could the father of Bahrām's maternal uncle be the person called Abū Naṣr Ḥūršīd Yazdyār in Miskawayh's *Taḡārib al-umam*? Ḥūršīd Yazdyār is identified there as the treasurer (*ḡāzin*) of the Būyid ruler ʿAḡud ad-Dawla who served his master as messenger in 369/979 to Faḡr ad-Dawla and Qābūs ibn Vušmagīr and in the same capacity again in 371/981 to Qābūs ibn Vušmagīr.⁸³ If the identification of Bahmanyār as son of the Bāwandid Ispahbad Marzubān proves correct, the marriage ties between the Bāwandids and both the Būyid family in Rayy (represented at that time by Faḡr ad-Dawla) as well as the Ziyārids (Qābūs ibn Vušmagīr) would make the father of Bahmanyār's

⁸⁰ For Lāhiḡān (originally Lāfḡān), see Minorsky's notes to *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, pp. 384, 388, 410. Minorsky noted that the detailed description which the author of the *Ḥudūd* provides for Lāhiḡān might indicate that he was a native of the area, *ibid.*, p. 384; his description of Firrīm (Pirrīm), *ibid.*, pp. 135-6, is the most detailed we possess. For the location of Lāhiḡān in Gīlān, see Minorsky's Map X, *ibid.*, facing page 388, and Le Strange, *Lands*, Map V, facing page 185. That Gīlān was a province of Māzandarān is stated unequivocally by the master geographer of Māzandarān H. L. Rabino in his *Māzandarān and Astarābād*, p. 1.

⁸¹ Rabino, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

⁸² The Aleppan manuscript (Muṭaḡhari gives neither library nor shelf reference) the first two pages of which are found in facsimile in Muṭaḡhari's edition (between his introduction and the text) has the preferable reading for this name; it is certainly better than the reading Muṭaḡhari selected for his edition. Al-Ḥwānsārī's incorrect addition of "ibn" between the *kunya* and *ism* has been noted above.

⁸³ See *Taḡārib*, 2:415, 3:15, *Eclipse*, V:454, VI:8. We first hear of Ḥūršīd Yazdyār in 368/978, when ʿAḡud ad-Dawla sent a friend (*ṣāḡib*) of Ḥūršīd as military commander against the Ḥamdānid fortress Uhrūr on the Tigris (*Taḡārib* 2:393, *Eclipse*, V:431).

uncle Bahrām an ideal envoy for ‘Aḍud ad-Dawla.⁸⁴ The dates of Ḥūršīd’s activities would certainly allow him to be the great-uncle of Bahmanyār.

The marriage ties between the Bāwandids and the Būyids in Rayy likely served as a useful conduit for members of the Bāwandid family to enter the service of the Būyids in various capacities. Bahmanyār’s great-uncle may have been both treasurer and envoy to ‘Aḍud ad-Dawla. Bahmanyār himself is identified as a *kātib*, a chancellery secretary, in MS Petermann II 466. If Bahmanyār’s father Marzubān was, in fact, the brother of Sayyida, it would be reasonable to assume that Bahmanyār could have served as secretary to Sayyida’s son Maḡd ad-Dawla, though probably not her husband Faḥr ad-Dawla, in Rayy. Bahmanyār’s service in the Būyid bureaucracy at Rayy would also explain his relationship with Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī, who may have been a secretary himself in Rayy in the last decades of the 4th/10th century. As we have seen above, the Mubāḥaṭāt contains a question that implicitly recounts a reading session of *Kitāb an-Nafs* of the *Šifā* between Bahmanyār and Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī, along with the unknown ‘Abd al-Malik. While we may assume that Abū l-Qāsim had advanced in the bureaucracy beyond the office of *kātib* by the third or fourth decades of the fifth/eleventh century when those reading sessions probably took place, there is no reason not to imagine that he retained ties with the bureau, and there met Bahmanyār. Bahmanyār may very well have begun his studies in philosophy with Abū l-Qāsim.

The letter which Gutas has entitled “Memoirs of a Disciple from Rayy,” written shortly after 421/1030 (Gutas, T. 13), contains a reference to “one of the sons of the military commanders, of the aristocracy,” *baʿḍ awlād al-umarāʾ min ahl al-faḍl* (MIVa:130). This letter recounts a meeting between Ibn Sīnā and his students in Rayy in which the students, in urging Ibn Sīnā to rewrite the *Inṣāf*, suggest that Ibn Sīnā purchase the books of the Baḡdādī scholars and by reading them rekindle an interest in passing judgment (*inṣāf*) on their philosophical views. According to the author of this letter, it was this “aristocratic young man” (whom Gutas has charmingly dubbed the Alcibiades to Ibn Sīnā’s Plato) who first offered to pay for the books of the Baḡdādī scholars for Ibn Sīnā.⁸⁵ The scribal note attached to the Later Recension of the Mubāḥaṭāt (see Chapter One, Part One, Section II.B.b) indicates that the abbreviation *ṭ* (for *bi-ḥaṭṭihī*) before texts of the Mubāḥaṭāt indicates that they were originally “in the handwriting of” Ibn Sīnā, Bahmanyār, or Ibn Zayla. The “Memoirs” is preceded by a *ṭ* in that recension. Bahmanyār’s own recension of the Mubāḥaṭāt does not contain this letter,

⁸⁴ Rustam ibn Šarwīn was the father of Sayyida, Faḥr ad-Dawla’s wife; for the marriage ties between the Bāwandids and Ziyārīds, through Rustam’s sister’s marriage to Vušmaḡīr, see the genealogy the Ziyārīd Kay Kāwūs provides, analyzed by E.G. Browne in the introduction to the *Marzbān-nāma*, op. cit.

⁸⁵ See Gutas, *Avicenna*, p. 65, and his translation of the letter, p. 67.

and this would suggest that he was not its author. And it certainly was not composed by Ibn Sīnā himself, who is the subject of discussion in the letter. We might infer then that Ibn Zayla is the “anonymous disciple,” the author of the letter.⁸⁶ The similarity between the adjectives Ibn Zayla uses in his letter to describe the “aristocratic young man” and the information we have inferred about Bahmanyār’s lineage is striking.⁸⁷ Bahmanyār’s father Marzubān was Ispahbad, a title conferred upon him, or perhaps ratified, by Maḡd ad-Dawla; the anonymous author of *Muḡmal at-tawārīḥ*, who among other things recounts parts of Būyid history, defines the Persian title Ispahbad as equivalent to the Arabic *amīr*.⁸⁸ Bahmanyār, son of the Ispahbad Marzubān, would clearly merit the designation, “son of an *amīr*.” Ibn Zayla also says that this son of an *amīr* was “one of the aristocracy,” *min ahl al-faḍl*; this bears comparison with a title we know Ibn Sīnā used in his correspondence to address Bahmanyār: al-Fāḍil. Not only does this evidence help us further refine our picture of Bahmanyār’s lineage, it would also suggest that Bahmanyār was in Rayy during the meeting between Ibn Sīnā and his students which is recounted in the “Memoirs.”

II.B.b. *Bahmanyār, Abū l-Qāsim, and Ibn Sīnā*

Bahmanyār’s connection to Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī allows us to place him in Rayy, as a secretary in the Būyid bureaucracy, and the “Memoirs” contains some additional evidence for this locale. Ibn Sīnā may have met Bahmanyār as early as 404-5/1014-15, when Ibn Sīnā served at Rayy under the Sayyida and Maḡd ad-Dawla. Bahmanyār may have been quite young at the time, if al-Bayhaqī’s record of his death in 458/1066 is authentic. This might be possible, if we accept that Ibn Sīnā’s remarks about Bahmanyār at MIII:114 are sincere and not simply an attempt to placate Bahmanyār after threatening to end their correspondence: “he [Bahmanyār] is like a son to me—no, he is closer and more beloved to me than even a son—since I have taught him and educated him and raised him to the level that he has attained.” We also know that Ibn Sīnā had his disastrous public debate with Abū l-Qāsim in

⁸⁶ Additional evidence for Ibn Zayla’s authorship of the “Memoirs” may be located in the fact that the *Theology* of Ps.-Aristotle is singled out in the Memoirs to describe the *Inṣāf* (MIVa:127; transl. by Gutas, *Avicenna*, p. 66, par. 2) and the bulk of the surviving questions about the *Inṣāf* in the Mubāḥaṭāt, which we can reasonably attribute to Ibn Zayla, deal with the *Theology* (see here Section II.C.c.2.iii, vii, viii, and Appendix F). The author of the “Memoirs” also notes Ibn Sīnā’s disdain for the proof for God through motion (MIVa:140; Gutas, op. cit., p. 71, par. 8), a subject addressed in the commentary on *Book Lambda* (*Kitāb Ḥarf al-Lām*; ed. Badawī, p. 23.21ff.) of Aristotle’s *Metaphysics* from the *Inṣāf*, which must have been known to Ibn Zayla and which forms the topic for a question in MVIf:862 raised most likely by Ibn Zayla (see Appendix F, Section A.b).

⁸⁷ Michot, “Nouvelle oeuvre,” p. 154, is again to be credited with first suggesting the identification of Bahmanyār as the “son of the *amīr*” mentioned in the “Memoirs.”

⁸⁸ For the definition in the anonymous *Muḡmal at-tawārīḥ*, see “Ispahbadh,” EI2, p. 207b.

Hamadān shortly after 405/1015, just after Ibn Sīnā left Rayy; whether or not Bahmanyār was also in contact with Abū l-Qāsim at this time and so could be placed in Hamadān shortly after 405/1015 is unverifiable. Al-Ġūzġānī tells us that Ibn Sīnā held meetings with students in Hamadān before his master Šams ad-Dawla's death in 412/1021, but he leaves these students unnamed.⁸⁹ We have another report about Ibn Sīnā's meetings with students in the anecdote by the otherwise unreliable Niẓāmī 'Arūdī which places these meetings in Iṣfahān during Ibn Sīnā's tenure with 'Alā' ad-Dawla (thus in the years c. 415-428/c. 1024-1037) and Bahmanyār (as Kiyā Ra'īs!) is explicitly mentioned.⁹⁰ But there are no other (more reliable) pieces of evidence that place Bahmanyār in Iṣfahān at any time.

Three facts are undeniable. First, the majority of the texts of the Mubāḥaṭāt take the form of a written correspondence between Ibn Sīnā and Bahmanyār;⁹¹ this alone suggests that Bahmanyār did not have daily or even regular direct contact with Ibn Sīnā. Second, the earliest work referred to in the questions of the Mubāḥaṭāt is the *Šifā'* (specifically *Kitāb an-Nafs*, and the Metaphysics, called consistently *Mā ba'd aṭ-ṭabī'a*).⁹² Third, we can infer from the "Memoirs" and the references in the Mubāḥaṭāt that Ibn Sīnā made sporadic visits to Rayy while serving 'Alā' ad-Dawla in Iṣfahān.

The *Kitāb an-Nafs* and Metaphysics of the *Šifā'* were composed between 412-414/1022-1024, beginning in all earnestness during Ibn Sīnā's period of hiding in Abū Ġālib's house in Hamadān after the death of Šams ad-Dawla in 412/1021.⁹³ These parts of the *Šifā'* could not have been distributed or

⁸⁹ Gohlman, p. 54/55; the addition to al-Ġūzġānī's information in later manuscripts of al-Bayhaqī's *Tatimma*, which names the students and even the works they studied with Ibn Sīnā is, as Gutas noted, *Avicenna*, pp. 95-6, no more than a "fabrication."

⁹⁰ *Chahār Maqāla*, transl., p. 92.

⁹¹ There are only three temporal references that suggest oral discussion: "yesterday" 464, 701; and "the day before yesterday" 539, but Ibn Zayla's recounting of a possibly oral discussion, 825-6, might also be considered. These references should be contrasted with Ibn Sīnā's regular promise to explain things fully when he and his interlocutor are "face to face" (*mušāfaha*), e.g., 27, 582. If the conditions Ibn Sīnā places on the study and transmission of the *Iṣārāt* in MI:2 are taken literally and not just as an indication of his unwillingness to let Abū l-Qāsim read the work with Bahmanyār, then such study and transmission had to take place face to face.

⁹² In one response (at 646), detached from its question, Ibn Sīnā refers to the *Mabda' wa-l-ma'ād*. It may be noted that there are three references to Ibn Sīnā's "Eastern" philosophy which suggest a knowledge of the uncompleted "al-Mašriqīyūn." At 298, the student asks: "If there is a throne proof or an eastern (*šarqī*) proof for the existence of the faculty of the intellect as not being imprinted in matter, would he be so kind as to furnish one?" At 876, the student repeats a previous response by Ibn Sīnā to the effect that "it was found that there is a long discussion about this which would best be heard from the Easterners." Finally, the oblique reference to the "the coming of the Ḥurāsānīya" at 744 can be understood to refer to a hoped-for conclusion to Ibn Sīnā's *Kitāb al-Mašriqīyūn*. The book was begun between 418-420/1027-1029 and lost, in an incomplete stage of composition, in 421/1030 (contra Gutas, W.9). These questions, then, could have been asked between those dates. See the additional discussion in Chapter Four, Section II.B.

⁹³ See Gutas, *Avicenna*, pp. 103-5, and the references cited there.

read with students until Ibn Sīnā's situation stabilized, i.e., after 414/1023-24 (at the earliest), when he joined 'Alā' ad-Dawla in Iṣfahān. Next, in his "Memoirs," Ibn Zayla notes that Ibn Sīnā returned ('āda) to Rayy after the sack of Iṣfahān in 421/1030 (MIVa:129). It is extremely unlikely that Ibn Zayla would be indirectly referring to Ibn Sīnā's last known stay in Rayy in 404-5/1014-15, and so we can surmise that Ibn Sīnā had visited Rayy at least once between 415/1024 and 421/1030, during his service to 'Alā' ad-Dawla in Iṣfahān. The first reference to a meeting in Rayy in the texts of the Mubāḥaṭāt (following the chronology presented in the next chapter) is found in MIVb:183, where we also learn about a "copy of the *Iṣārāt* just sent out (*ṣādīra*)" (MIVb:147). The first text of the Mubāḥaṭāt, then, was preceded by a visit to Rayy and the incidental reference to the *Iṣārāt* suggests that the *written* correspondence that is MIVb was begun around 421-425/1030-1034, the dates between which the *Iṣārāt* was begun according to Gutas (W. 11). Additional refinement to this chronology will be presented in the next chapter. The salient point to note here is that, in lieu of any direct and reliable evidence that Bahmanyār studied with Ibn Sīnā in Iṣfahān (or even in Hamadān),⁹⁴ we can only conclude that Bahmanyār studied Ibn Sīnā's works in Rayy with Abū l-Qāsim, and that he may have had at least some sporadic meetings with Ibn Sīnā throughout Ibn Sīnā's Iṣfahān period, although it is likely that those meetings took place in Rayy.

The picture of Bahmanyār that emerges from these slim pieces of evidence is of a young bureaucratic secretary, son of the Bāwandid Ispahbad Marzubān, who was attached to the Būyid court in Rayy through his family connections with Sayyida, Faḥr ad-Dawla, and Maḡd ad-Dawla. He likely began his philosophical studies with Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī at Rayy where both at different times pursued bureaucratic careers, and he certainly continued those studies through readings of Ibn Sīnā's works with Abū l-Qāsim, which in turn led to the correspondence with Ibn Sīnā which in part make up what we now call the Mubāḥaṭāt. He may have met Ibn Sīnā quite early in his career, but at the very least he was probably a part of the group of young scholars with whom Ibn Sīnā held meetings in Rayy, if not Iṣfahān. Sometime after Ibn Sīnā's death, and the conclusion of the Mubāḥaṭāt, Bahmanyār may have returned to his native province of Māzandarān, since a descendant of his clean recension of some of the Mubāḥaṭāt texts was probably copied there. Between Ibn Sīnā's death and his own death in 458/1066, Bahmanyār wrote, at the request of his maternal uncle (probably himself a native of

⁹⁴ The "Letter to al-Ġūzġānī," if not addressed to al-Ġūzġānī, as I have argued, could have been written to one of Ibn Sīnā's students in Rayy, and in this letter Ibn Sīnā looks forward to the arrival of this student in Iṣfahān. We cannot entirely discount the possibility that Bahmanyār studied with Ibn Sīnā in Iṣfahān, but nor can it be stated, with no evidence other than the unreliable reports of an addition to the *Tatimma* and Nizāmī 'Arūḍī, that Bahmanyār had direct and daily contact with Ibn Sīnā in Hamadān and Iṣfahān.

Māzandarān) his *Kitāb at-Taḥṣīl*, a work which can be considered his testament to his philosophical correspondence with Ibn Sīnā.⁹⁵

II.C. Ibn Zayla

II.C.a. General Biographical Information

As tentative as our knowledge of Bahmanyār's background is, it is a wealth of data in comparison to what we can only infer about Ibn Zayla. Al-Bayhaqī's brief biography⁹⁶ provides some basic information. Al-Bayhaqī gives his name as Abū Maṣṣūr al-Ḥusayn ibn Ṭāhir ibn Zayla, but his name is also found as Abū Maṣṣūr al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar ibn Zayla in an extant copy of his *Kitāb al-Kāfi fī l-mūsīqā*.⁹⁷ Al-Bayhaqī also tells us that Ibn Zayla was from Iṣfahān ("by pedigree and origin," *al-aṣl wa-l-mawlid*).⁹⁸ If this is true, then we could argue that Ibn Zayla met and studied with Ibn Sīnā in Iṣfahān, but again we find Ibn Sīnā *corresponding* with Ibn Zayla and, in one letter (see below), Ibn Sīnā tells Ibn Zayla that if he wants a more detailed explanation from him, he will have to get it orally. If Ibn Zayla is the author of the "Memoirs," and this seems likely on the basis of the manuscript evidence, then we can also locate him in Rayy.⁹⁹ Ibn Sīnā addresses Ibn Zayla by the titles *mawla* and *raʿīs* (see the letter below), which would suggest that he merited some standing in Būyid Iranian society,

⁹⁵ For additional information on Bahmanyār's other works, see Daiber's article, op. cit., with the corrections noted here and in Chapter Two, Section II.B. There is absolutely no evidence that Ibn Sīnā dictated to Bahmanyār the materials collected under the title *at-Taʿlīqāt*, as Badawī repeatedly asserts in the introduction to his edition of *at-Taʿlīqāt* (pp. 5-6) and there is every reason to doubt that any such dictation occurred while Bahmanyār was Ibn Sīnā's student between the years 404-412, a piece of biographical information which can only be the figment of Badawī's own imagination. It is clear that at least one recension of the materials now called the *Taʿlīqāt* was probably undertaken by Bahmanyār; the term *riwāya* that we find attached to some of the manuscripts of that recension probably originates with al-Lawkarī who undertook to provide those materials with a list of contents, and need not be understood in the technical sense that the *ḥadīth* scholars assigned it ("oral transmission") in their own field of scholarship. Al-Lawkarī probably means only that the materials that he provided with a contents list were passed on to him by Bahmanyār, his own teacher. See the discussion of the *Lawāḥiq* and *Buḍūr* in Chapter Four, Section III.D. Note, however, that we do have one piece of evidence from the manuscripts that suggests Bahmanyār copied *Kitāb al-ʿUyūn* at Ibn Sīnā's dictation (see Chapter One, Part Two, Section I.A.b); it is significant in this case that the term *riwāya* does not figure in the dictation note.

⁹⁶ *Tatimma*, ed. Šafīʿ, pp. 92-3.

⁹⁷ See Mīrzā Muḥammad Qazvīnī's notes to Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī's *Chahār Maqāla*, p. 253, n. 1 (MS British Mus. Or. 2361), also cited by Šafīʿ in his edition of the *Tatimma*, p. 92, n. 5. The work has since been edited by Zakarīyāʾ Yūsuf, Cairo, 1964. Compare the two names given by Brockelmann, GAL, I, 458, S I, 829 (noted by Goichon in her article "Ibn Zayla").

⁹⁸ Al-Bayhaqī, op. cit., also says Ibn Zayla was said to be a Zoroastrian, but (probably correctly) doubts this.

⁹⁹ Perhaps he was born in Iṣfahān, but pursued a career in Rayy. If Ibn Zayla is the author of "Memoirs," we will have to modify Gutas's title to "Memoirs of a Disciple from Iṣfahān who happened to be in Rayy."

perhaps equal to that of Ibn Sīnā, whom Bahmanyār addresses by the same titles (MVIa1:397, MVIb1:500). The fact that he died only twelve years after Ibn Sīnā, according to al-Bayhaqī in 440/1048, suggests that Ibn Zayla was more a colleague of Ibn Sīnā than a disciple.¹⁰⁰

II.C.b. *Ibn Zayla and Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī?*

Michot has drawn an interesting connection between Ibn Zayla and Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī, based on the possible identification of Abū l-Qāsim as the author of the *Fundamental Principles of Astrology* (see above).¹⁰¹ Michot noted that Ibn Sīnā appears to have written his refutation of astrology, *Risāla fī Ibṭāl aḥkām an-nuḡūm*, for Ibn Zayla. In explaining the reason for its composition, Ibn Sīnā says:

...I saw one of my friends become very attracted to this science and directing a great deal of attention to it; he let himself be duped by the views of the practitioners of this science and their sophistic misrepresentations took deep root in his soul. How often have I debated with him and took counsel with him and gave him evidence of the fallacy of this science and the corruptness of its fundamental principles. He asked me to gather together a part of what I have told him at different times in one book that could serve as a reference book for him to return to during [his] times of retreat, so that he could verify my view and come to understand the truth of what I say. So I responded to him and began and I called it *The Pointer to Knowing the Fallacy of Astrology*.¹⁰²

The hypothesis is that if Ibn Sīnā wrote this treatise for Ibn Zayla, and if it can be verified that Abū l-Qāsim did write a treatise on astrology, then Ibn Zayla might be the “friend” mentioned by Ibn Sīnā, who has allowed himself to be “duped by the views of” Abū l-Qāsim, one of “the practitioners of this science.” Michot points out that in MI:2, Ibn Sīnā makes an explicit contrast between Bahmanyār and Ibn Zayla, who are allowed to study the *Iṣārāt*, and Abū l-Qāsim (implicit reference), who is not. This may or may not be an indication that Ibn Zayla was a part of the study circle in Rayy which included Abū l-Qāsim, Bahmanyār, and the unidentified ‘Abd al-Malik.

¹⁰⁰ Gutas has noted, “Avicenna’s Library,” p. 9, that the first generation of Ibn Sīnā’s students were “mostly contemporaries of Avicenna and hence colleagues rather than students.” This is likely the case with Ibn Zayla and al-Maṣūmī (d. 430/1038; see *Tatimma*, p. 95-6), both of whom Ibn Sīnā addresses as *mawlā* and *raʿīs*, but Gutas had to contend with Brockelmann’s erroneous death date of 430/1038 for Bahmanyār and so tentatively included him among Ibn Sīnā’s “contemporaries.” All evidence suggests a later death date for Bahmanyār, and it might be argued that, without Bahmanyār, Ibn Sīnā’s philosophical tradition would not have passed to the second generation of students, including al-Lawkarī.

¹⁰¹ Michot, *Ibn Sīnā*, pp. 24*-26*, with a reproduction of the beginning of the *Ibṭāl* from MS Leiden, Warn. Or. 1020.

¹⁰² Ülken, *Opuscles*, 2:51.1-6. Cf. Michot’s translation, op. cit., pp. 25*-26*; Michot rightly notes (26*, n. 1) the extremely poor quality of Ülken’s edition.

If it is, then we might argue that Ibn Zayla had studied astrology with Abū l-Qāsim, and Ibn Sīnā wrote his *Refutation of Astrology* to dissuade Ibn Zayla of the benefits of such study.

However, the identification of Ibn Zayla as the recipient of the *Ibtāl aḥkāṃ an-nuḡūm* is not as readily evident as Michot has suggested. This identification is based on a scribal comment at the beginning of some copies of the *Ibtāl* which states:

I copied [this treatise] from an archetype that the Šayḥ Abū l-ʿIzz ibn Zayla bequeathed to me (*aḥdāhu ilayya*) and he said that it was one of [Ibn Sīnā's] books, and part of the archetype was in the handwriting of Abū Maṣṣūr ibn Zayla. The views (*kalām*) [in this treatise] are close to Ibn Sīnā's views, but I do not know if it is his work or not. However, Ibn Zayla [i.e., this Abū l-ʿIzz] says it is and because of the fact that it is attributed to him [i.e., Ibn Sīnā] I have added it to his works in its most likely place.¹⁰³

The scribe states only that his archetype was, in part, in the handwriting (*bi-ḥaṭṭ*) of Ibn Zayla, and indicates his uncertainty about whether to ascribe the composition of the treatise to Ibn Sīnā.¹⁰⁴ Implicit in his uncertainty is that, if in the handwriting of Ibn Zayla, the treatise might in fact have been *composed* by Ibn Zayla.¹⁰⁵ Admittedly this is unlikely, but the more immediate point is that this scribe does not say that Ibn Sīnā *dedicated* the treatise to Ibn Zayla, only that some of his archetype was copied by (?) Ibn Zayla.

There is an interesting piece of circumstantial evidence for identifying Ibn Zayla as the “friend” for whom the *Ibtāl* was written. Ibn Sīnā says that he is writing down his views about astrology for this friend as a sort of reference book that the friend can consult “during [his] times of retreat (*awqāt al-ḥalawāt*).” This may not be a simple turn of phrase. In the

¹⁰³ Ülken, op. cit., 2:49.

¹⁰⁴ The reference to an Abū l-ʿIzz ibn Zayla in this scribe's note is tantalizing. This Abū l-ʿIzz Ibn Zayla may be related to Abū Maṣṣūr ibn Zayla, but no information on an Abū l-ʿIzz can be found in the biographical or historical materials.

¹⁰⁵ Aside from the *Ibtāl*, Ibn Sīnā's views on astrology are not readily apparent from his other works. It is to be noted that he includes astrology as part of the ancillary sciences (*ḥikma farʿiyya*) of Natural Sciences in his *Aqsām al-ʿulūm* (ed. Šams ad-Dīn, p. 266; noted by Jamil Ragep in “Freeing Astronomy,” p. 6 [I thank Jamil Ragep for forwarding an early copy of this article to me]), but the period and context in which the *Aqsām* was composed have yet to be studied by scholars; the introduction would suggest that he wrote it for educational purposes (the fact that he also includes alchemy among these ancillary sciences with not a hint of the disdain we know him to have had for that science might indicate that his classification of the sciences here is merely a presentation of the general classificatory scheme of his time. For Ibn Sīnā's views on alchemy, see his *Risāla fī l-Iksīr*, ed. Ateş, p. 35, where he says that most of it is senseless prattle, *haḍayān*). The classification of astrology as an ancillary science is echoed in the introduction to the Easterners; see *Manṭiq al-Mašriqīyīn*, p. 5.11 (I thank D. Gutas for this reference). With regard to the *Ibtāl*, the scribe's assertion that the views in the *Ibtāl* appear congruent with those of Ibn Sīnā is, as his uncertainty would confirm, no more than circumstantial evidence for Ibn Sīnā's authorship.

introduction to another letter Ibn Sīnā is said to have written to Ibn Zayla, and which was given the title *Ḥuṣūl ʿilm wa-ḥikma* by Maḥdavī (4w), we are told that Ibn Sīnā wrote to Ibn Zayla “in response to his letter to him when he had decided to go into seclusion (*ʿuzla*).”¹⁰⁶ The coincidence is striking, and while we have no additional information about Ibn Zayla’s “retreats,” or indeed what might be meant by “retreat” in this context, the reference to such retreats in two letters that in one way or another bear connection to Ibn Zayla adds further evidence that the *Ibtāl* was in fact written for Ibn Zayla.

Ibn Sīnā could have written the *Ibtāl* for Ibn Zayla, who had pursued studies in astrology with Abū l-Qāsim. This would certainly help us link Ibn Zayla’s participation in the Mubāḥaṭāt to his relations with Abū l-Qāsim in much the same setting that we know Bahmanyār to have participated in those texts. But it is not clear how many of the questions in the Mubāḥaṭāt may have originated with Ibn Zayla, because of the ambiguous abbreviation code employed in the manuscripts of Mubāḥaṭāt materials which assigns *sīn.ṭāʾ* (*s[ʾāl bi-ḥa]ṭ[ṭihī]*) indiscriminately to questions in the hands of Bahmanyār and Ibn Zayla. There is at least some evidence that Ibn Zayla’s questions to Ibn Sīnā arrived independently of the questions by Bahmanyār and Abū l-Qāsim.

II.C.c. *Ibn Zayla’s Participation in The Discussions*

II.C.c.1. Ibn Sīnā’s Letter to Ibn Zayla

The text of the introduction to Ibn Sīnā’s Letter to Ibn Zayla presented here was originally part of a letter written by Ibn Sīnā independently of the letters and texts that now constitute the Mubāḥaṭāt, or at least those letters and texts that we can firmly ascribe to Bahmanyār and Abū l-Qāsim. However, the letter, or at least part of it, was available to Bahmanyār when he was constructing his recension, since that part is found in MS E. The tone of Ibn Sīnā’s introduction to the response he sets forth in the letter, which response is found in the Mubāḥaṭāt recensions, is harsh, and in this regard, reminiscent of the dismissive attitude he assumes with Abū l-Qāsim. It is probably for this reason that the introduction was removed when the letter was incorporated into the Mubāḥaṭāt.¹⁰⁷ The fact that the letter exists

¹⁰⁶ See Maḥdavī 4w. Maḥdavī was convinced that the *Ḥuṣūl* was written to Abū Saʿīd ibn Abī l-Ḥayr. The evidence presented in Chapter Two, Section IV.A suggests that this is wholly unlikely. Michot, *Ibn Sīnā*, pp. 120* ff., has translated much of this letter, with some corrections to the manuscripts.

¹⁰⁷ We might imagine that, while it was deemed acceptable to preserve Ibn Sīnā’s insults and bad treatment of Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī, such an attitude directed against one of his students was not.

in its entirety in at least two manuscripts, aside from being remarkably fortuitous, provides us with a more complex view of the construction of the Mubāḥaṭāt as a collection of dicta and responsa. The texts and letters that make up the Mubāḥaṭāt were not composed in a single environment nor as part of a self-conscious project of composition, but rather derive from different contexts and expressive of different relations Ibn Sīnā had with his students and colleagues at different periods of time.

II.C.c.1.i. Details of the Text

The introduction to Ibn Sīnā's Letter to Ibn Zayla is preserved in MSS G (Ayasofya 4855) and J (Tehran University, Adabīyāt 15ğ).¹⁰⁸ Two edited versions, in which this introduction was eliminated, also circulated. The first version is found in both the Earlier and Later Recensions (MSS Y, A, L1, E; MSS B, K, N) and follows, in the main section of the letter (Ibn Sīnā's response), the text of the two manuscripts, but which eliminates, in addition to Ibn Sīnā's introduction,¹⁰⁹ any reference to Ibn Zayla.¹¹⁰ The second version is found in MS G (AS 4855; see Chapter One, Part Two, I.A.h.1). In this second version the introduction is preserved, but the order of Ibn Sīnā's response has been re-arranged and part of it lost.¹¹¹ A translation follows here; for the Arabic text, see Appendix D.

II.C.c.1.ii. Translation of the Introduction

[Ibn Zayla] said: In our Master's statement at the beginning of *The Cure*, I came upon some contradictory and conflicting points that fall outside the consensus of scholars. So it would behove him to provide a correction of that and to disclose the point of view [of his approach], if he can.

[Ibn Sīnā] responded: The philosopher, my master and chief (may God continue to aid him), has gone too far in his exasperating ways and has

¹⁰⁸ See Chapter One, Part Two, Section I.A.f. M.T. Dānišhpāzhūh and B.ʿI. Anvārī transcribed a limited selection of the introduction in their catalogue *Fihrist-i kutub-i ḥaṭṭī-yi Kitābhānah-yi Mağlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī, Šumārah-yi Dū (Sanā-yi sābiq)*, 2:187.

¹⁰⁹ Ibn Sīnā's introduction is reduced to "his statement in the beginning of *The Cure* was discussed" (see Bīdārfar 568).

¹¹⁰ The first and second references to Ibn Zayla, whom Ibn Sīnā calls "the philosopher (*ḥakīm*), *mawlāya wa-raʿīsī*," are found in his introduction of the letter and in the beginning of his response (corresponding to Bīdārfar, p. 189.8) respectively; the third reference ("the philosopher, my chief") is found in that part of the text that corresponds to the beginning of Bīdārfar 577 (where "as for what the philosopher, *mawlāya wa-raʿīsī* said" has become "as for his statement").

¹¹¹ In MS G, Ibn Zayla's final statement replaces the text *mā aḳtar—al-ištirāk fa-inna* (Bīdārfar, p. 189.5-16); the text then proceeds until *al-ḥulqīya* (Bīdārfar, p. 191.14) where we next find the fragment *li-ḥaḳfāʾi dālīka ʿalā Abī Ḥāmid al-Isfīzārī* (Bīdārfar, p. 189.12) and then a resumption of the text from Bīdārfar 577-578 (p. 192.6-19). The total amount of lost text then is: Bīdārfar, p. 189.5-12, p. 189.12-15, pp. 191.14-192.5. The disorder and loss are likely the result of disordered folia in the archetype of MS G.

been openly inconsiderate, though without having exercised enough reflective effort that his sharp instinct would save him the trouble of [solving] the problem. For every ambiguity that falls below his rank and dishonors him, he has satisfied himself by calling the truth of it incomprehensible to him. A single one of these uncertainties is not unlikely to occur to those who have a little knowledge, to those who preen themselves on their amateur knowledge, and to anyone who rushes to the discipline [of philosophy] with but meager merchandise,¹¹² without truly drilling himself in its outward aspects and without having followed the proper course to obtain the desired goals in it. As for the rest of [his disputations], then had a common man, let alone a scholar, a close-minded fideist, let alone a philosopher,¹¹³ judged it permissible that there be ambiguity in and because of it, then he would have shown patently the ruination of his soul's structure and the blindness of his intellect's eye to what he considers in every section of my writing. The question about that is:¹¹⁴ 'he [i.e., Ibn Sīnā] states that philosophy is divided into theoretical philosophy and practical philosophy, but he includes theoretical inquiry and knowledge in practical philosophy also and makes knowledge the goal of both; practical philosophy, however, is action, not theoretical inquiry, as the ancient and later philosophers all agree. [Such] breaking with consensus is considered reprehensible unless countered with an unambiguous justification.' The response: How many times will people fall into error because of the homonymous terms used in philosophical teachings with their homonymity, particularly when terms like 'theoretical' and 'practical' are said in different places and by means of which different things are indicated. I will not prolong [my response] with an explanation of that. If the philosopher, my master and chief (may God continue to aid him), really wants [such an explanation], he can hear it orally.¹¹⁵

II.C.c.2. *Other Texts*

Other questions can also be ascribed to Ibn Zayla, some definitely and others more tentatively. The bloc of questions and responses immediately following the portion of Ibn Sīnā's Letter to Ibn Zayla found in the recensions of the Mubāḥaṭāt is probably to be ascribed to Ibn Zayla.

i. MVIc:579-585. The interest Ibn Zayla expresses in his challenge to Ibn Sīnā, recounted in the Letter to Ibn Zayla, about the criteria for classifying the sciences is reflected in the question at 579. This question shares with the Letter to Ibn Zayla (568-578) the interest in Ibn Sīnā's statements about the

¹¹² *baḍā'atun muzğātun* is a phrase found in the Qur'ān, 12:87 (cf. Lane, sub z.ğ.y).

¹¹³ The term *ḥašwī*, here contrasted with *falsafī*, "philosopher," may translate in Ibn Sīnā's parlance "theologian," deriving ultimately from the early "school" of Ḥašwīya (see EI2, q.v.), but used derogatorily for any theologian. He uses the term *ḥašw* in the *Metaphysics* of the *Šifā'* (p. 31.14) to describe a statement that is *ğayr mufīd*, "of no communicative value."

¹¹⁴ Enclosed in single quotation marks is Ibn Sīnā's quote of Ibn Zayla's disputation.

¹¹⁵ The text of J then continues as in Bīdārfar 568-578.

classification of the sciences in the *Madḥal* of the *Šifāʾ* and especially the boundaries of the logician's rightful field of inquiry.¹¹⁶

ii. MVIc:586-588, 589-590. Al-Bayhaqī tells us that Ibn Zayla wrote a *muḥtaṣar* of the Natural Sciences Books of the *Šifāʾ*.¹¹⁷ These two questions on *as-Samāʿ at-Ṭabīʿī* of the *Šifāʾ*, following upon the questions at 568 and 579, were probably raised by Ibn Zayla.¹¹⁸

iii. MVIc:591-593. The question here is explicitly attributed to Ibn Zayla in MSS Pertev Paşa 617, D, and E (see Chapter One, Part Two, Section I.A.d) and is the exception to the classificatory observation that the majority of questions about the soul in the *Mubāḥaṭāt* are to be ascribed to Bahmanyār and Abū l-Qāsim. However, Ibn Zayla's question on the soul is to be distinguished from those of Bahmanyār and Abū l-Qāsim by the fact that it arose from a reading of Ibn Sīnā's *Inṣāf* commentary on Ps.-Aristotle's *Theology* whereas the questions of Bahmanyār and Abū l-Qāsim derive mainly from the *Šifāʾ*.¹¹⁹ Additional questions by Ibn Zayla on the *Inṣāf* commentary on the *Theology* and the *Inṣāf* commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, *Book Lambda*, are identified below.

iv. MVIc:650-1. In MS C, the response to this question is said to be in the hand of Ibn Zayla.¹²⁰ It is unlikely that this means that Ibn Zayla was the actual respondent to the question; it probably means that Ibn Zayla made a copy of Ibn Sīnā's response, but Ibn Zayla may have asked the question.

v. MVIc:693-5. On the proper topic of Natural Sciences. This question is tentatively ascribed to Ibn Zayla on the basis of the observation above concerning 586-588, 589-590, as well as the fact that Ibn Zayla expresses an interest in the classification of the sciences.

vi. MVIe:820-843, Ibn Zayla's *Talḥīṣ*. Chief among the texts by Ibn Zayla are the passages explicitly ascribed to him in §2 (see Chapter One, Part One, Section I.A.a.2). In that manuscript, these passages are alternately called a *talḥīṣ* (of what work remains to be determined) and a *risāla*. The *Talḥīṣ*, as we will call it, treats of the attributes of God (*ṣifāt wāğib al-wuğūd*). In conjunction with this *Talḥīṣ*, we also find a brief account of two questions asked by Ibn Zayla presumably of Ibn Sīnā, the topic of

¹¹⁶ See Bīdārfar's references, p. 189, n. 568, and p. 193, n. 579, and Marmura, "Avicenna on the Division of the Sciences," pp. 239-251.

¹¹⁷ *Tatimma*, p. 92.

¹¹⁸ Could fragments of this abridgment be preserved among the texts in Ṣignāhī's codex? Badawī 208-9, 213 (Bīdārfar 1108-1110) appear to be a commentary on Ibn Sīnā's *as-Samāʿ at-Ṭabīʿī* and not by Ibn Sīnā (unless it can be proved that Ibn Sīnā is commenting on Aristotle's *De Caelo* in these passages).

¹¹⁹ For the reference to the commentary on the *Theology* implicit in Ibn Zayla's question at 591, see the note to Chapter One, Part Two, Section I.A.d.

¹²⁰ See Badawī 168b (i.e., 268).

which bears relation to the *Talhīs*, scil. possible existence.¹²¹ In his response to the second question, Ibn Sīnā refers to his interlocutor as “the philosopher,” al-Ḥakīm, the same title he uses to address Ibn Zayla in his Letter to Ibn Zayla.

vii. MVIf:864-6. Question on Ibn Sīnā’s *Inṣāf* commentary on Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*, Book Lambda. In keeping with Ibn Zayla’s reading of parts of the *Inṣāf*, reflected in his question at 591, it is likely that Ibn Zayla is the questioner here. Ibn Zayla’s interest in Aristotle’s *Metaphysics* here may ultimately be connected to the (posthumous?) *al-Mağmū‘ al-ilāhī* ascribed to him in the Ṣignāhī codex.¹²²

viii. MVIf:867, 868. Questions on the *Inṣāf* commentary on Ps.-Aristotle’s *Theology*. Again, Ibn Zayla’s interest in the *Inṣāf* allows for ascription of these two questions to him.¹²³

II.C.c.3. Ibn Zayla’s Question on a criterion for classifying the sciences
The third question found in “Ten Questions (b)” (MS Istanbul University A.Y. 4755, see Chapter One, Part Two, Section I.A.b.1), and the discussion above on Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī) may be by Ibn Zayla. He is known to have taken an interest in the classification of the sciences and the subject matter of the question (music) is consistent with that of a known work by Ibn Zayla (i.e., *Kitāb al-Kāfī fī l-mūsīqā*; see above, Section C.a).

مسئلة. أما العلم الذى عمومه كالجنس لعارض الموضوع فمثل موضوع الطبيعى
وموضوع الموسيقى فإن موضوع الموسيقى عارض نوع من موضوع العلم
الطبيعى. الجواب. موضوع الموسيقى النغمة وهى صوت بحال والصوت من
عوارض موضوع العلم الطبيعى الذى هو الجسم من جهة ما يقبل الحركة
والسكون.

The first two questions from “Ten Questions (b),” one on the universal demonstrative proof (*burhān kullī*), the other on the definition of soul as the perfection (*kamāl*, entelechy) of a body possessed of organs, might also be ascribed to Ibn Zayla, but the remaining questions (4-10) probably belong to Bahmanyār and Abū l-Qāsim, as they treat topics we know from Ibn Sīnā’s Letters to Bahmanyār (MI-MIII) to be of interest to them.¹²⁴

¹²¹ It has been noted in Chapter One, Part Two, Section I.A.a.2, that the order of Ibn Zayla’s *talhīs* and questions in the Mubāḥatāt recensions are confused in comparison to what we find in Ṣ2. The first of Ibn Zayla’s questions (825-6) is really a summary of Ibn Sīnā’s (?) view, and the second question, introduced as “the question of someone who raises doubts [about this] by saying...” is an actual question asked of Ibn Sīnā.

¹²² See Gutas, “Avicenna’s Library,” pp. 13-14, and here below, Section C.c.4. For the relation between the question at 864 and the *Lambda* commentary from the *Inṣāf*, compare Bīdārfar, p. 308.6-9 with Badawī’s edition of the commentary, *Aristū‘inda l-‘arab*, p. 32.9-12.

¹²³ The question at 867 is based on the *Inṣāf* commentary, Badawī, op. cit., p. 60; the question at 868 is based on the same text, Badawī, p. 61.

¹²⁴ See the identifications of these questions and responses with reference to Bīdārfar’s edition

II.C.c.4. Unattested Authorship of *al-Mağmūʿ al-ilāhī*

See the statement in Badawī, p. 57, n. 7. *Min maymar min Kitāb al-Atlāt maktūb fī mağmūʿ al-ilāhīya*. The section that Badawī calls “al-Maymar al-ḥāmis” that then follows contains a number of passages that produced questions in the Mubāḥaṭāt, which may be attributable to Ibn Zayla, who bears a connection with the “Mağmūʿ” according to the Ṣignāḥī recension (see Gutas, Library, p. 13, no. 10). Cf. also the statement at Badawī 460 (where the response is said to be written in this “Mağmūʿ” [for the response, see Bīdārfar 738]).

It is likely that other questions and passages among the Mubāḥaṭāt materials can be ascribed to Ibn Zayla. However, it is unlikely that Ibn Zayla played a role in any of the questions that we can ascribe to Bahmanyār and Abū l-Qāsim. If more information about Ibn Zayla’s activities in Rayy can be elicited from the corpus, we might be able to argue for a closer relationship between Ibn Zayla and Abū l-Qāsim, akin to the apparent relationship between Bahmanyār and Abū l-Qāsim. However, considering the very slim evidence that might connect Ibn Zayla to Abū l-Qāsim (a purported interest in astrology), it is more likely that Ibn Zayla pursued a somewhat different course of study with Ibn Sīnā. This course of study appears to be directed toward an elucidation of Ibn Sīnā’s *Kitāb al-Inṣāf*, a connection that makes the ascription of the “Memoirs,” which centers on persuading Ibn Sīnā to rewrite the *Inṣāf*, all the more attractive.¹²⁵ In addition, Ibn Zayla demonstrates an interest in the Natural Sciences, specifically Ibn Sīnā’s *as-Samāʿ at-Ṭabīʿī* from the *Šifāʾ*. There is also evidence that a major interest on Ibn Zayla’s part was the sets of criteria for classifying the Aristotelian sciences. The types of questions Ibn Zayla asks Ibn Sīnā, and perhaps also their tone, which at times appears to have incensed Ibn Sīnā, along with the titles by which Ibn Sīnā addresses Ibn Zayla, all suggest that we should consider Ibn Zayla a fellow philosopher of Ibn Sīnā, and not a combatant, as in the case of Abū l-Qāsim, nor a student, as in the case of Bahmanyār.¹²⁶

in Chapter One, Part Two, Section I.A.b.(1).

¹²⁵ Ibn Zayla’s interest in the *Inṣāf* may allow us to finally answer the question Paul Kraus asked in 1941 (“Plotin,” p. 274, n. 1): Do the extant parts of the *Inṣāf* derive from the first recension [made by Ibn Sīnā] or was Ibn Sīnā able to reconstitute the work, an intention expressed by him in his Letter to [Kiyā]? I would answer: “neither.” The extant portions of the *Inṣāf* in Cairo Hikma 6M are most likely Ibn Zayla’s notes on or summary of parts of the *Inṣāf*, from which he constructed his questions to Ibn Sīnā on the *Inṣāf* found in the Mubāḥaṭāt. This possibility also resolves the inconsistency Pines observed between Ibn Sīnā’s description of the *Inṣāf* in his Letter to Kiyā and these extant portions of the work; see Pines “La philosophie orientale,” p. 11.

¹²⁶ Another work by Ibn Zayla listed by al-Bayhaqī is his *ṣarḥ* on *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān*. For an assessment of the publications related to this *ṣarḥ*, see Gutas, “Avicenna’s Library,” p. 14. There is no evidence that Ibn Sīnā dictated the *Taʿlīqāt* to Ibn Zayla, as Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa states (2:19), since there is no evidence that those materials were called *at-Taʿlīqāt* by Ibn Sīnā. See the discussion concerning the *Lawāḥiq* and *Buḍūr* in Chapter Four, Section III.D.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONTENTS, ORDER, AND DATING OF THE MUBĀḤAṬĀT

I. GENERAL COMMENTS CONCERNING THE CONTENTS OF THE MUBĀḤAṬĀT

We can be certain that the Mubāḥaṭāt, in any of its extant recensions, is not a consciously and consistently organized work. It appears that a number of texts of various types were brought together to form the Mubāḥaṭāt. Preliminary research suggests the following division of contents:

1. Written correspondence between Bahmanyār and Abū l-Qāsim and Ibn Sīnā;
2. Written correspondence between Ibn Zayla and Ibn Sīnā;
3. Short treatises by Bahmanyār and Ibn Zayla derivative of Ibn Sīnā's works:
 - a. Bahmanyār's *talhīṣ* of parts of *aš-Šifā'*: *al-Ilāhīyāt*
 - b. Ibn Zayla's *talhīṣ* of an unidentified work;
4. Notebook entries (?), including *Books of Budūr*.

The recension process of these texts was two-fold: the Earlier Recensions and the Later Recension. The exact order of the extant exemplars of this recension process (particularly in the case of the Earlier Recensions) cannot be determined at this stage of research. A broad picture is as follows. Bahmanyār collected the majority of the texts related to his correspondence with Ibn Sīnā along with a number of questions by Ibn Zayla with Ibn Sīnā's responses. Bahmanyār's recension (MS E), which seems to be the earliest of the Earlier Recensions, was enlarged as more texts became available for inclusion. Extant exemplars of this process of accretion include MSS Y, A, and L. This expansion of Bahmanyār's recension was accompanied by minor re-arrangements of the latter part of his recension. This expansion appears to have culminated with MS A, which contains nearly all of the material of the Later Recension (e.g., MS B). There was also an independent attempt to disassemble and edit the texts of the Mubāḥaṭāt entirely; this independent attempt is extant in MS C, or the Ṣignāhī Codex Recension. This ambition was never realized. However, in addition to the deconstruction and editing of the Mubāḥaṭāt texts in this independent recension, we find the introduction of other materials into the Mubāḥaṭāt, such as additional letters (Letter to Kiyā; Letter to Ibn Ḥassūl), other small treatises (*al-ʿAhd*), parts of the so-called *Budūr*, and other unidentified notes. The Later Recension, represented in extant manuscripts B, N, K, etc., must have been made from

an Earlier Recension resembling MS A, for it contains all of the material of that Earlier Recension. This Later Recension is characterized by a complete re-ordering of the texts MI-MVc. In addition to this re-ordering, an additional small amount of material was incorporated, e.g., Bahmanyār's Letter to Ibn Sīnā (MVIa1) and Bahmanyār's Note to Ibn Sīnā (MVIb1).

In what follows, descriptions and analyses of the various texts of the Mubāḥaṭāt are provided. The larger goal of these studies is to develop working theories concerning: (1) the correct historical order of the composition of the texts, i.e. the internal arrangement of the Mubāḥaṭāt texts; and (2) dates of composition for those texts within the larger structure of Ibn Sīnā's life and work. The first goal is hampered by the recensional process that the texts underwent, as well as by the publication record of the Mubāḥaṭāt. The order of exposition followed below is that of the Later Recension; this order was chosen for no other reason than that the only coherent version of the Mubāḥaṭāt published to date is the Later Recension by Bīdārfar in 1992. The Ṣignāhī Codex Recension (MS C), published by Badawī in 1947, is neither representative of the recensional process of the Mubāḥaṭāt nor of much use in attempts to reconstruct the order of the texts. However, the general identification of the Earlier Recensions as representative of the historical order of composition for the Mubāḥaṭāt texts in its first nine parts informs the research at every stage. Unless compelling evidence is found to invalidate the order of the correspondence presented in the Earlier Recensions (in those first nine parts), there is no reason to prefer the order of the Later Recension over that order. But, in order for profitable discussion to proceed, we need temporary reference points to the published version of the Mubāḥaṭāt. Thus, while the order of exposition here follows Bīdārfar's edition of the Later Recension, the theory that it is the Earlier Recensions that reflect, on the whole, the historical progression of composition is reiterated at every possible stage of the discussion. Finally, we must also make a distinction between which texts are to be considered a part of the Mubāḥaṭāt and which are not. The general theory concerning this division has been outlined in the previous chapters and is one determined by the definition of the Mubāḥaṭāt as a collection of correspondence between Ibn Sīnā and Bahmanyār (and Abū l-Qāsim) and between Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Zayla. Accordingly, the discussion here is divided into Mubāḥaṭāt texts (II) and Accretional Mubāḥaṭāt texts (III).

II. MUBĀḤAṬĀT TEXTS

II.A. *MI. Letter from Ibn Sīnā to Bahmanyār*

II.A.a. *Indications of Temporal Sequence*

In the introduction to this letter, Ibn Sīnā states that "a number of letters

arrived.” Thus, MI cannot be the first letter in the correspondence as a whole. It is impossible to know which of the philosophical questions addressed in MI belonged to which of the preceding letters that are referred to at the beginning of MI. It is to be assumed at any rate that the questions addressed in MI were not all composed and sent out by Bahmanyār (and Abū l-Qāsim) in a single letter and at one time. The letters by Bahmanyār (and Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī as an indirect correspondent)¹ which precede MI do not appear to be extant among the texts of the *Mubāḥaṭāt*. In the Earlier Recensions, MIVb and MVa precede MI; however these lack the epistolary elements we would expect from Ibn Sīnā’s use of the term “letters.”

Another indication of temporal sequence is found in Ibn Sīnā’s response to the issue of whether the study of the *Iṣārāt* may be undertaken without him:

MI:2. As for the *Iṣārāt*, copies are not to be made of it except orally and after stipulations that are agreed upon only face to face. No stranger may [so much as] ask to open it with him,² for none may [even] be informed about it but [Bahmanyār] and aṣ-Ṣayḥ Abū Maṣṣūr Ibn Zayla. As for the riffraff and [shit]-eaters³ and anyone who is not worthy of truth and deference, there is no way to present those propositions [in the *Iṣārāt*] to them....

Some form of the *Iṣārāt* must have been composed prior to this letter, and Bahmanyār must have had a copy in his possession. We can surmise that Bahmanyār asked Ibn Sīnā for permission to read the *Iṣārāt* with someone else, most likely Abū l-Qāsim, the “shit-eater” referred to here. The stylistic similarity between this passage and the conditional warnings Ibn Sīnā sets forth in various places in the *Iṣārāt* itself may suggest that the latter were developed on the basis of Bahmanyār’s request here.⁴ It is unlikely that the order should be reversed, i.e., that the copy or draft of the *Iṣārāt* in Bahmanyār’s possession already contained the conditional warnings, since Bahmanyār would then have been aware of them and not made such a bold request.

Ibn Sīnā’s insistence that the *Iṣārāt* be studied and copied only through oral transmission suggests that Bahmanyār and Ibn Zayla had already studied it with Ibn Sīnā in this manner. Gutas has argued that the general dates of composition for the *Iṣārāt* are 421-425/1030-1034.⁵ A detailed analysis of

¹ See Chapter 3, Section II.A.d.

² I.e. Bahmanyār.

³ *al-maḍāḡa* C (and Badawī), E : *al-m.d.iya* L1, A : *aṣ-ṣ.n.ʿa* Y. See also Michot (who employs different sigla), “La réponse,” p. 155, and n. 49. Michot, *ibid.*, p. 156, correctly identified the referent here as Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī, whom Ibn Sīnā calls *al-māḍiḡ li-l-ḥarāʾ* in MIII:96.

⁴ See Gutas, *Avicenna*, pp. 55-57, for translations of these warnings.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 123-124, 140.

his argument is presented below with regard to MIVb. It would seem that we may need to push back the earliest date of the composition of the *Iṣārāt* to shortly after 417/1027 for reasons having to do with the internal organization of the Mubāḥaṭāt texts. At any rate, we can suggest with regard to MI that it should be dated to shortly before 421/1030 (see the discussion concerning MII below). At the time that MI was written, it is likely that the *Iṣārāt* was in draft form and that oral sessions in which it was drafted had taken place between Ibn Sīnā and his students Bahmanyār and Ibn Zayla.

II.A.b. *Contents of MI*

(3-27). Ibn Sīnā addresses seven disputations raised by Abū l-Qāsim and Bahmanyār. He does not record their disputations or questions verbatim, but merely alludes to them in the course of his counter-argumentation.

(28-31). This passage is not by Ibn Sīnā since it attempts to refute the “syllogisms” Ibn Sīnā used to construct his argument in 23-26. It is most likely to be ascribed to Abū l-Qāsim and understood as a response to Ibn Sīnā’s argument. It concludes at 31 with the statement: “As for other disputations about this other than what has been subject to dispute [here], they are many, but we challenged only what he [i.e., Ibn Sīnā] set forth.”⁶ Ibn Sīnā does not refer to his own arguments as disputations (*ṣukūk*), but reserves this term for his interlocutors’ questions.⁷ Thus, this final statement was likely made by someone other than Ibn Sīnā, and most likely by Abū l-Qāsim.

II.B. *MII. Letter from Ibn Sīnā to Bahmanyār*

II.B.a. *Indications of Temporal Sequence*

Ibn Sīnā’s introduction to this letter has been the source of much discussion because of the information it contains concerning the composition dates and losses of a number of his works. This introduction is translated here, followed by an analysis that will allow us to date MII properly.

32. Aṣ-Ṣayḥ al-Fāḍil [Bahmanyār]’s letter arrived (may God prolong his life) indicating his well-being and the joy that has at last come to him as a result of my deliverance from those life-threatening shocks. I studied it and took comfort in what God has overseen: the safety of his soul and his

⁶ Note that the Arabic of this statement is grammatically incorrect, scil. *aṣ-ṣukūk...fa-huwa kaṭīr* instead of *aṣ-ṣukūk...fa-hiya kaṭīra*. This does not seem to be attributable to scribal error. If Bahmanyār was responsible for conveying Abū l-Qāsim’s verbal responses to Ibn Sīnā’s letters, errors such as this one might account for the later opinion that he was not well-versed in Arabic (see al-Bayhaqī’s entry on him in the *Tatimma*).

⁷ See, for example, MIII:87, 88, 90, and indeed Bahmanyār and Abū l-Qāsim follow him in this; see MIVa:229.

continued facility for virtue and knowledge, both of which I have been forced to abandon and forsake.

33. As for his sorrow at the loss of *al-Iṣārāt wa-t-tanbīhāt*, I believe a copy of this book may remain preserved.

34. As for *al-masā'il al-mašriqīya*, I had already packed them up in their quires, or most of them, in such a way that no one's attention would be drawn to them, and I also recorded some things from *Throne Philosophy* on slips of paper, and it was these that were lost. But they were not voluminous (though they included many issues and were very inclusive) and rewriting them would be easy.⁸

35. But certainly *Kitāb al-Inṣāf* could not but be extensive and rewriting it would be laborious. But who is going to rewrite it...?

The fact that the loss of *Fair Judgment* (*Kitāb al-Inṣāf*) is reported by Ibn Sīnā here provides an almost precise date for the composition of this letter. From a number of different sources, but especially from al-Ġūzġānī's Biography, we can date the loss of *Fair Judgment* to Muḥarram 421/January 1030, when the Ġaznavid Mas'ūd ibn Maḥmūd entered Iṣfahān and his soldiers plundered Ibn Sīnā's belongings, taking the work.⁹

However, this dating of MII has been complicated by Gutas's arguments concerning the composition dates and loss of the so-called "Easterners" (referred to in MII as *al-masā'il al-mašriqīya*) and the *Pointers and Reminders* (*al-Iṣārāt wa-t-tanbīhāt*). The issue at hand concerns the date of the loss of books reported in MII. Two dates have been posited: 421/1030, and 425/1034. The ultimate source of confusion can be traced to al-Bayhaqī's erroneous report concerning the plunder of Ibn Sīnā's baggage. It is important to remember that al-Bayhaqī's biography of Ibn Sīnā is not an independent source for Ibn Sīnā's life, but rather derives from al-Ġūzġānī's biography with additional information derived from al-Bayhaqī's own reading of texts composed by Ibn Sīnā and his disciples, along with a large dose of fiction.

Al-Ġūzġānī's report about the loss of the *Fair Judgment* explicitly states that it happened when Mas'ūd entered Iṣfahān. Gutas has rightly noted that this reference to Mas'ūd's invasion of Iṣfahān could only have happened in 421/1030, and that the information derived from the letter Gutas has entitled "Memoirs of a Disciple from Rayy" (see below, MIVa) corroborates this date, since there we are told explicitly that Ibn Sīnā was in Rayy after Mas'ūd's invasion of Iṣfahān.¹⁰ But when we turn to al-Bayhaqī's version of

⁸ The syntax of this paragraph has raised many problems of interpretation; see Gutas's translation, *Avicenna*, p. 57, and his accompanying interpretation in note 4, and Pines, "La philosophie orientale," p. 22, n. 1.

⁹ See Gutas, op. cit., pp. 134-136, where the sources are reviewed and a case for the loss of *Fair Judgment* in 421/1030 is made. Al-Ġūzġānī's information is found in Gohlman, p. 80/81.

¹⁰ Gutas, op. cit., p. 136.

al-Ġūzġānī's Biography, we find details added to al-Ġūzġānī's report about the plunder of Ibn Sīnā's baggage in 421/1030. The most significant of these details is that it was "Abū Sahl al-Ḥamdūnī, along with a group of Kurds, [who] plundered the Šayḥ's baggage, which contained his books, and only parts of the *Fair Judgment* were found [afterwards]." ¹¹ Gutas has noted that any reference to Abū Sahl al-Ḥamdūnī in relation to military operations in the area can only be to Abū Sahl's battle against Iṣfahān in 425/1034. ¹² Thus, it is al-Bayhaqī who has confused the plunder of Ibn Sīnā's baggage by *Mas'ūd's* army, reported by al-Ġūzġānī, with the later battle for Iṣfahān by *Abū Sahl al-Ḥamdūnī*. This error by al-Bayhaqī is all the more evident from an omission in his account of the next major report from al-Ġūzġānī's biography. Al-Ġūzġānī notes that Ibn Sīnā fell ill from colic shortly before 'Alā' ad-Dawla was forced to flee Iṣfahān for Īḍaġ; this reference to Īḍaġ allows us to date the illness to 425/1034, when Abū Sahl al-Ḥamdūnī invaded and plundered Iṣfahān and Ibn Sīnā was forced to retreat to Īḍaġ with 'Alā' ad-Dawla. ¹³ Al-Bayhaqī omits the reference to Īḍaġ altogether, since to have retained it would have forced him to reconcile the concatenation of facts he presented in his first report. ¹⁴

An equally significant *addition* to al-Ġūzġānī's report of the loss of the *Fair Judgment* by al-Bayhaqī is his discussion of the survival of the works he calls *al-Ḥikma al-mašriqīya* and *al-Ḥikma al-ʿaršīya* immediately following his mistaken information concerning Abū Sahl al-Ḥamdūnī. It is beyond the possibilities of coincidence that al-Bayhaqī could link the loss of the *Fair Judgment* to these two works without having himself read a copy of MII, where the loss of all three works is reported by Ibn Sīnā. And we know from the discussion in Chapter Two above that al-Bayhaqī did have access to a copy of the texts of the Mubāḥaṭāt, which he collectively refers to as al-Mabāḥiṭ. ¹⁵ Thus, the information that Ibn Sīnā and his disciples provide about the events of 421/1030 must be considered more reliable than the information concocted or incorrectly reported by al-Bayhaqī. The information provided by Ibn Sīnā in MII is that the following works or works-in-progress were plundered in 421/1030: *Pointers and Reminders*, *al-masāʾil al-mašriqīya*, *Throne Philosophy*, and *Fair Judgment*. Ibn Sīnā states that *Pointers* may yet survive in a preserved copy; *Fair Judgment* is lost and

¹¹ *Tatimma*, p. 56.

¹² Gutas, *ibid.*

¹³ See Bosworth, *Dailamīs*, pp. 77-8.

¹⁴ *Tatimma*, p. 57.6.

¹⁵ Al-Bayhaqī did not make reference to *al-Iṣārāt*, the possible loss of which is also reported in MII because the survival of that work was not subject to debate in al-Bayhaqī's time (mid-12th century), unlike the so-called "Easterners" and the *Throne Philosophy*.

cannot be rewritten; *al-masā'il al-mašriqīya* and *Throne Philosophy* are not yet voluminous and can be rewritten.

Another equally important aspect to this resolution of the problems raised by al-Bayhaqī's report about the loss of *Fair Judgment* and the other works is that we have no independent confirmation of a loss of any of Ibn Sīnā's books in 425/1034 aside from what al-Bayhaqī incorrectly reported. Ibn al-Aṭīr's report of a wholesale transfer of Ibn Sīnā's books from Iṣfahān to Ġazna by Abū Sahl al-Ḥamdūnī can only be based on al-Bayhaqī's error, coinciding as it does in its particulars with that error.¹⁶

It is on the basis of the testimonies of al-Bayhaqī and Ibn al-Aṭīr that Gutas argued for the date of 425/1034 for the composition of MII.¹⁷ Gutas's reasoning appears to be that, while we know with certainty that the *Fair Judgment* was lost in 421/1030 because of the testimony from the "Memoirs" (MIVa), scil. Ibn Sīnā was in Rayy when his disciples asked him to rewrite it, and he can only have been in Rayy in 421/1030, not in 425/1034, the testimonies from al-Bayhaqī and Ibn al-Aṭīr would suggest that another plundering of Ibn Sīnā's books occurred during Abū Sahl al-Ḥamdūnī's 425/1034 invasion of Iṣfahān. Thus, MII with its reference to the *Fair Judgment* and to other works or works-in-progress must have been written in 425/1034 and refers to two events:

¹⁶ Ibn al-Aṭīr's testimony is translated in Gutas, op. cit., p. 117. Ibn al-Aṭīr follows al-Bayhaqī in noting that it was Abū Sahl who pillaged Iṣfahān (*Tatimma*, 56.1), that Ibn Sīnā's books were later in the library at Ġazna (*Tatimma*, 56.6), and that the library was razed by fire by the Ġurīd al-Ḥusayn (*Tatimma*, 56.6-7). The fact that Ibn al-Aṭīr places the report of the pillage of Ibn Sīnā's books under the events of 425/1034 may be accounted for by the fact that al-Bayhaqī mentions Abū Sahl al-Ḥamdūnī. For the serious problems with the reliability of Ibn al-Aṭīr's information for events beyond Mosul, his home town, see my article "Ibn al-Aṭīr, 'Izz al-Dīn," and the references cited there. According to M. Nāẓim, *The Life and Times of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, p. 9, Ibn al-Aṭīr appears to have relied on the following sources for events in Western Iran: Hilāl aṣ-Ṣābi's *Dayl Tağārib al-Umam*; al-Uṭbī's *Kitāb al-Yamīnī*; and al-Bayhaqī's *Mašārib at-Tağārib*. The extant portion of the first (covering the years 389-392, published in Margoliouth's edition of Miskawayh) does not include the sack of Iṣfahān; the second is a notoriously unreliable source for historical information (Nāẓim, op. cit., p. 4, generously notes that the author "has concentrated on beauty of diction rather than historical detail"). The last, by the author of the *Tatimma* and no longer extant, may very well be the source for Ibn al-Aṭīr's account of the sack of Iṣfahān and may thus have contained any of the additional ancillary information found in Ibn al-Aṭīr's reports. Claude Cahen, "The Historiography of the Seljuqid Period," pp. 65-6, notes that, since Ibn al-Aṭīr likely did not know Persian, he would have had to rely on the *Mašārib*, the only contemporary Arabic source for the period. The paucity of historical sources for the period is to be directly related to the very turbulent political events of 5th-6th/11th-12th century Western Iran. It would appear that later historians simply invented any information they could not find for the events of this period. I intend to treat this question in relation to the sources for Ibn Sīnā's life in more detail in a future publication. Here, we may simply note that the testimony of the people involved in the events discussed, i.e., Ibn Sīnā and al-Ġūzġānī, are to be accorded more weight than al-Bayhaqī, whose excesses of imagination are well-documented, or Ibn al-Aṭīr, whose interests in historiography at times precluded precision of facts.

¹⁷ Gutas, op. cit., pp. 134-136.

1. *at that time* (supposedly 425/1034) to the loss of the *Pointers*, *al-masāʾil al-mašriqīya*, and the *Throne Philosophy*;
2. *in the past* (i.e., 421/1030) to the loss of *Fair Judgment*.

This somewhat complicated assumption was necessitated by the information provided by al-Bayhaqī and Ibn al-Aṭīr.¹⁸ But this information appears to be the result of the error (or embellishment) made by al-Bayhaqī. Thus we need only conclude that MII was composed in 421/1030.

An additional indication that MII must have been composed in 421/1030 and not in 425/1034 is necessitated by the very order of the texts of the Mubāḥaṭāt (and here it makes no difference whether we follow the order of the Earlier Recensions or the Later Recension). There is simply too much additional correspondence following MII in the Mubāḥaṭāt texts themselves to allow for its composition in 425/1034. Gutas has noted that Ibn Sīnā was very ill immediately after the second flight from Iṣfahān, recovering only for a brief period in 427/1036, and dying in 428/1037.¹⁹ It is very difficult to see how he could have engaged in the sustained correspondence evident from the texts following MII in the Mubāḥaṭāt in those circumstances.²⁰ In conclusion, it is more plausible to argue that MII was written in 421/1030.

Can we be any more precise about the dating of MII? Gutas has noted that Ibn Sīnā refers to a stay in Rayy in MII:44, and has maintained that this is a reference to Ibn Sīnā's stay in Rayy beginning in Ġumādā al-Ūlā 421/May 1031.²¹ Gutas argues that this stay in Rayy is the setting for [Ibn Zayla's] composition of his "Memoirs" (i.e., MIVa), as noted in Chapter Three.²² But we have also noted in Chapter Three the likely identification of Bahmanyār as the "son of an *amīr*, one of the aristocracy" mentioned by Ibn Zayla in his letter. If this identification is correct, it means that Bahmanyār was present in Rayy at the time that Ibn Zayla was attempting to persuade Ibn Sīnā to rewrite the *Fair Judgment* (the aim of MIVa). We must then ask why Bahmanyār would write a letter to Ibn Sīnā after this visit to Rayy, asking him about the fate of his plundered works and whether or not Ibn

¹⁸ Two additional reasons are given by Gutas for dating MII to 425/1034: Ibn Sīnā's tone in MII is tired and dejected, akin to his tone in the Letter to Kiyā which can be dated to 427/1036 (pp. 56, 60, 136); and, with regard to the distinction Ibn Sīnā (supposedly) makes between the *Fair Judgment* on the one hand and *al-Iṣārāt*, *al-masāʾil al-mašriqīya*, and the *Throne Philosophy* on the other hand, that the difference in size between the *Fair Judgment* (voluminous) and the *masāʾil al-mašriqīya* and *Throne Philosophy* (not voluminous) "implies that the *Fair Judgment* was not among the quires...which were lost on this occasion [i.e., in 425/1034]." But it can be argued that Ibn Sīnā must also have been tired and dejected after his books were pillaged in 421/1030, and that the size of the respective works cannot indicate when they were lost.

¹⁹ Gutas, op. cit., p. 136.

²⁰ It is also difficult to understand why Ibn Sīnā would refer to his "Easterners" as *al-masāʾil al-mašriqīya* in MII if MII was written as late as 425/1034. For a proposed dating of the "Easterners," see Gutas, *Avicenna*, pp. 123ff.

²¹ Gutas, op. cit., pp. 135-136.

²² See Chapter Three, Section II.B.b, toward the end.

Sīnā is willing to rewrite them, if he had been present during the meetings with Ibn Sīnā and so would have learned first-hand about the fate of Ibn Sīnā’s plundered works? A more plausible explanation is that Ibn Sīnā wrote MII during his four- or five-month stay in Hūzistān (Muḥarram-Ġumādā al-Ūlā 421/January-May 1030), whence he had fled with ‘Alā’ ad-Dawla immediately after the sack of Iṣfahān by Mas‘ūd,²³ and before his arrival in Rayy. And he probably wrote it in response to a letter Bahmanyār had sent him asking about reports that Ibn Sīnā’s books had been plundered. This dating accords with Ibn Sīnā’s references to his less than lugubrious circumstances in MII.²⁴ The final ambiguity, then, is what stay in Rayy does Ibn Sīnā refer to in MII:44? It can only be to a visit to Rayy prior to 421/1030. This suggestion is corroborated by Ibn Zayla’s reference in his “Memoirs,” written during Ibn Sīnā’s stay in Rayy in 421/1030, to Ibn Sīnā’s *return* to Rayy (MIVa:129).²⁵ We must then assume that Ibn Sīnā had made at least one previous visit to Rayy before 421/1030. This is not unlikely, considering Ibn Sīnā’s insistence on an oral teaching environment (*mušāfaha*, *mukāfaha*) for the study of the *Iṣārāt* which he makes in MI:2.

The following order of events encapsulates the preceding argument:

Table 5: Ibn Sīnā's Activities in 421/1030	
Dates	Activities
prior to 421 prior to 1030	Ibn Sīnā visits Rayy at least once, if not regularly.
Muḥarram 421 January 1030	Iṣfahān is invaded by Mas‘ūd’s soldiers who pillage Ibn Sīnā’s baggage, seizing manuscripts of <i>Pointers and Reminders</i> , <i>al-masā’il al-mašriqīya</i> , <i>Throne Philosophy</i> , and <i>Fair Judgment</i> .
Muḥarram - Ġumādā al-Ūlā 421 January-May 1030	Ibn Sīnā in Hūzistān with ‘Alā’ ad-Dawla, receives letter from Bahmanyār enquiring about the pillage of his books, responds to Bahmanyār with MII.
Ġumādā al-Ūlā - ? 421 May - ? 1030	Ibn Sīnā in Rayy; meets with students. Ibn Zayla composes his “Memoirs” (MIVa).

II.B.b. *Contents of MII*

In two statements in MII:36, Ibn Sīnā refers to the “questions,” in the plural, which Bahmanyār has sent him and indicates that his “responses,” in the plural, are of different types: “As for the questions which you asked me,”²⁶ they are significant questions on the philosophical sciences, especially

²³ See Bosworth, “Dailamīs,” p. 76.
²⁴ MII:46; see Gutas’s translation, op. cit., p. 59 (par. 8).
²⁵ See Gutas’s translation, op. cit., p. 67.
²⁶ Reading *sa’altanīhā* with MSS L1, and Y.

these ones,” and, “I have considered these questions carefully, and approved of them. I have answered some sufficiently, others by means of a pointer (*iṣāra*), and perhaps others I have been unable to answer.” But in the text of MII itself, we find Ibn Sīnā answering only one such question, on the issue of the constant element in plants.²⁷ Clearly, additional material, in the form of Ibn Sīnā’s responses, must have originally accompanied MII. The order of the Later Recension is misleading here; we can resolve the problem only by reference to the order of the Earlier Recensions. In those recensions, MII is followed by MVc1-2. An explanation for why we must divide MVc into two parts is provided below. Here the significant point is that the Earlier Recensions most likely reflect the correct order of the correspondence in this instance since there is no other resolution to the discrepancy between what Ibn Sīnā states in MII and the actual contents of MII. MVc1, then, probably originally accompanied MII. MVc1 contains two types of responses from Ibn Sīnā: 1. MVc1:310-333, made up of responses accompanied by the original questions; and MVc1:324-352, consisting only of Ibn Sīnā’s responses, and preceded by a brief request from Bahmanyār to “give commentary under these questions,” to which Ibn Sīnā responds, “This service is obligatory” (324-5). As for why the issue of the constant element in plants and animals was singled out for response in the letter of MII itself, instead of being found among its companion questions in MVc, this is probably due to the fact that Ibn Sīnā could provide no direct and simple response to this vexing question. And indeed, his almost dialectical approach²⁸ to the issue in this response distinguishes it from its companion responses in MVc1.

II.C. MIII. Letter from Ibn Sīnā to Bahmanyār

II.C.a. Indications of Temporal Sequence

The relative dating of MIII in relation to the other texts of the correspondence has been complicated unnecessarily by Jean Michot’s theory concerning the relation of MIII to the *Iṣārāt*.²⁹ In what follows, temporal references in the letter are translated, followed by a revision of Michot’s conclusions.

²⁷ The larger question concerns the constant element in animals and plants, but at MII:37 Ibn Sīnā declines to discuss the issue with regard to animals, stating that he has dealt with it at length in *al-uṣūl al-maṣriqiya*. Nonetheless, he does make incidental reference to the issue with regard to animals towards the end of his response, at MII:40.

²⁸ By the term dialectical I mean that Ibn Sīnā employs a method akin to that of Aristotle at the beginning of his works; see Owens, *The Doctrine of Being*, pp. 205-7, and id., “Tithenai ta phainomena.” I do not mean that he necessarily employs the dialectical syllogisms of the contemporary *kalām* authors.

²⁹ “La réponse,” pp. 153-164. The letter in its entirety is translated in the same article, pp. 166-194.

II.C.a.1. A Hiatus in the Correspondence

Ibn Sīnā's introduction to MIII clearly indicates that there has been a delay in his response to preceding questions:

47. The letter of aš-Šayḥ al-Fāḍil [Bahmanyār] arrived, bringing such news of his well-being as to produce complete consolation and thorough confidence. I studied all of the contents of [the letter]. What he thanked me for was a promise I made to that friend,³⁰ and in that regard, he has produced something corresponding to his pre-eminence. I should most properly be subject to reproof and reprimand for this utmost degree of deficiency, but the request to settle that voucher did not arrive from the bureau³¹ until now because of delays so often known to happen with such things. 48. Now, however, that has been facilitated, and it is this which will arrive in the hand of so-and-so [i.e., the messenger].³²

II.C.a.2. Ibn Sīnā's Reference to Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī's displeasure:

49. As for what aš-Šayḥ al-Fāḍil related about aš-Šayḥ Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī's displeasure when he was told what he was told, someone like him³³ has no right to be on guard against that. There have always been occasions of this sort occurring between us³⁴ that nonetheless would never lead to a breach in our mutually agreed upon affection, even if such occasions may at times lead to a dissatisfaction with the dialogue (*muḥāwara*). The reason [for his³⁵ annoyance] is not [that he has] suffered from anything he might have the audacity to blame on me. Certainly not! Rather, [his suffering is in fact] the result of that well-known atrocious and insulting³⁶ persistence of his when he is presented with something he has not heard before.

³⁰ I.e., to Bahmanyār.

³¹ *lam yataʿatti tanağğuzu dālika ṣ-ṣakki mina d-dīwāni. tanağğuz* B, A, E, L1, C, X1 : undotted E : *t.t.ğ.z.z* read. Bīdārfar. The verb *tanağğaza* means to request fulfillment of a debt or promise (Dozy, 2:650b; Lane 6:3451c); and the noun *ṣakk*, from the Persian *ḡakk* or *chakk*, is, as Lane translates “a debenture or written acknowledgment of a debt” (4:1709a; see also 4:2475c), i.e. a voucher (I thank Beatrice Gruendler for this clarification). For additional citations of *ṣakk*, see H. F. Amedroz's *The Historical Remains of Hilāl al-Sābi*, p. 64. In this context it is entirely appropriate to understand *ad-dīwān* as referring to one of the administrative bureaus of the court (note that exemplar X1 reads *ad-dīwān al-ʿālī*, the “high bureau”). Michot has effectively suppressed this bureaucratic imagery (“La réponse,” pp. 154, 166): “Il n’a cependant point été aisé de terminer d’écrire ce document jusqu’à ce moment, du fait de ce que l’on sait pouvoir advenir comme obstacles en de pareils cas.”

³² MS X1 adds *wa-huwa ḥāriḡun ḡadan yawm al-iṭnayn*, “as it will be sent out tomorrow, Monday.”

³³ I.e., Abū l-Qāsim.

³⁴ I.e., Ibn Sīnā and Bahmanyār.

³⁵ I.e., Abū l-Qāsim.

³⁶ *al-ḡāriḡ* X1 : *al-ḥāriḡ* B (and Bīdārfar), A : *al-ḥāriḡ* Y, L1 : “rebelle” Michot.

50. In sum, that Šayḥ deserves pity more than anger, since he is deluded precisely by what one can see is [his] assumption that he might easily be able to produce, in the course of the contradictions, something that will discourage me, having considered an argument to be something that will raise him up, while his abilities fall far short of anything that could raise him up to it. By God, the merciful and compassionate, I am the happiest of people when I hear a pertinent disputation and a nicely phrased request for information. It is only prattle and jabber that distresses me, the more so when friends and relatives become caught up in it. Nor indeed does it please me that my books get dragged into it, for more reasons than this one.³⁷

II.C.a.3. Ibn Sīnā's Reference to the "sections" Bahmanyār has sent him:

55. Now, in response, I want to send back to him what befits the sections (*fuṣūl*) that he wrote down and is of their kind, for anything that does not resemble its companion is deviant and strange, and anyone who resembles neither his father nor his brother is an addition [to the family], a bastard.

II.C.a.4. Ibn Sīnā's Reference to an oral discussion with Abū l-Qāsim:

56. As for the discussion about the argument establishing the existence of the soul on the basis of a postulate that necessarily entails perception of the essence, then that Šayḥ³⁸ already took my counsel in that when he read back to me *Kitāb an-Nafs* of the *Šifā'* while I was denying [his disputation].

II.C.b. *Analysis of the Temporal Indications*

II.C.b.1. Michot's Theory concerning the Dating of MIII in relation to *al-Išārāt wa-t-tanbīhāt*

Michot's theory³⁹ begins with a very good observation: none of the questions in MIII bear relation to issues specific to the *Išārāt*. In fact, Ibn Sīnā himself makes specific reference to the *Šifā'* (the citation is translated above in a.4) and at least two other issues (*taʿdiya* and *šīʿāʿ*) are found only in the *Šifā'*,⁴⁰ and so it is the *Šifā'*, and not the *Išārāt* to which the questions by Bahmanyār and Abū l-Qāsim refer in MIII. Michot then maintains that because the *Išārāt* has no bearing on the questions of MIII, Ibn Sīnā must be announcing in the introduction to MIII the dispatch of the *Išārāt* to Bahmanyār in the course of his excuse for the delay in his response to Bahmanyār (introduction translated above in a.1). So, according to Michot,

³⁷ Cf. Michot's French translation, op. cit., pp. 166-167.

³⁸ I.e., Abū l-Qāsim.

³⁹ "La réponse," pp. 153-162.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 154.

Ibn Sīnā has sent a copy of the *Išārāt* to Bahmanyār along with MIII. As a result of this assumption, Michot then argues that MI must have been written after MIII, because in MI Ibn Sīnā explicitly forbids Bahmanyār to allow Abū l-Qāsim to study the *Išārāt* (MI:2; see above). Finally, Michot notes that the polemical style against Abū l-Qāsim in MIII is similar to Ibn Sīnā's Letter to the Vizier Abū Saʿd, which can be dated to a period just after Ibn Sīnā's arrival in Hamadān in 405/1015,⁴¹ and concludes that MIII was written around 406/1016, closely followed, but at some indeterminate point, by MI.⁴²

These hasty observations forced Michot to restructure the dating of a number of Ibn Sīnā's works. Because he assumed that Ibn Sīnā refers to the *Išārāt* in his introduction to MIII, and because he linked the style of MIII to the Letter to the Vizier Abū Saʿd, he concluded that the *Išārāt* must have been written around 406/1016, along with MIII. And because Ibn Sīnā makes reference to the *Kitāb an-Nafs* of the *Šifāʾ* in MIII, that part at least must have been written before 406/1016. With regard to the relative chronology of the *Šifāʾ* and the *Išārāt*, Michot notes that in the latter work Ibn Sīnā refers to the former work, but resolves this problem by arguing that the Logic parts of the *Šifāʾ*, but not the entire work, could have been written before the *Išārāt*. The complete chronology presented by Michot is thus: *Kitāb an-Nafs* of the *Šifāʾ*—Logic parts of the *Šifāʾ*—*al-Išārāt*—MIII—MI, all written between 405-412/1015-1021.⁴³

II.C.b.2. Analysis of Michot's Theory

The very strained interpretations to which Michot subjects all of the evidence of the Avicennan corpus cannot be addressed here. Our revision focuses on the Mubāḥaṭāt, the dating of its parts, and the relative chronology of those parts. Michot's argument rests on the single assumption that Ibn Sīnā refers to the *Išārāt* by his use of the masculine singular demonstrative pronoun *dā*⁴⁴ in MIII:48 (translated "this" in [a.1], par. 48, above); the remainder of his argument consists of his attempts to re-interpret all of the accepted evidence for the chronology of Ibn Sīnā's works. Michot's theory that the

⁴¹ Strictly speaking, Michot, in "La réponse," pp. 156-157, and especially the chart on p. 161, first believed that the Letter to the Vizier Abū Saʿd (*Demande de méditation* as he called it there) was written in Rayy, but in Ibn Sīnā, 32*, he revised this view and dated it to after Ibn Sīnā's arrival in Hamadān.

⁴² "La réponse," p. 158.

⁴³ To arrive at this chronology, Michot was forced to contest all of the verifiable evidence on the composition of the *Šifāʾ*, evidence which was correctly analyzed by Gutas (op. cit., pp. 101ff.); see "La réponse," p. 160, n. 70.

⁴⁴ Originally *day*, latterly *dā* (Lane, *q.v.*); cf. the variant readings of the manuscripts: *day* B, Y, L1, E : *dā* X1, A. That the masculine singular is intended is evident from the *huwa* which precedes it.

Iṣārāt could not have been written much before MIII since the questions by Bahmanyār and Abū l-Qāsim do not allude to it in MIII is easily addressed: by Michot's own admission, Ibn Sīnā explicitly forbade Bahmanyār from allowing Abū l-Qāsim access to the *Iṣārāt* in MI.⁴⁵ And so no question or disputation by Abū l-Qāsim which would be sent by Bahmanyār to Ibn Sīnā could have included reference to the *Iṣārāt*. This observation also serves to invalidate Michot's argument that MIII was written before MI, since if there is no relation between MIII and a just-composed *Iṣārāt*, there is no reason to place MIII before MI, where the *Iṣārāt* is explicitly named. In addition, while there are minor problems with the relative order of the Mubāḥaṭāt texts in both the Earlier and Later Recensions, neither of them places MIII before MI. The manuscript evidence must form the departure point for the theories of modern scholars.⁴⁶

We must also ask why Ibn Sīnā would allude to the *Iṣārāt* in his introduction to MIII at all, as Michot's theory posits. A much simpler explanation, and one which does not require a complete restructuring of the latter half of the entire Avicennan corpus, is that Ibn Sīnā is excusing himself for his delay in responding to an earlier letter from Bahmanyār, not for a delay in composing the *Iṣārāt*. And he states the reason for the delay in responding to Bahmanyār's earlier letter: he had not received that letter (Ibn Sīnā's response to which is his "voucher" to Bahmanyār) from the bureau (*dīwān*). Ibn Sīnā provides further indication of what he had received from Bahmanyār in MIII:55 (see above, [a.3]), in which he states that he is giving what he considers the appropriate responses to the sections (*fuṣūl*) that Bahmanyār had sent him. The thing delayed is not a copy of the *Iṣārāt*, but rather Ibn Sīnā's responses to a preceding letter containing questions arranged in "sections" from Bahmanyār.⁴⁷

In fact, there is good evidence that such delays in the correspondence occasionally occurred. For instance, in Bahmanyār's Letter to Ibn Sīnā (MVIa1),⁴⁸ Bahmanyār states that he had sent Ibn Sīnā a letter with which he enclosed questions, organized into sections. He indicates that he had received from Ibn Sīnā only short "summary responses." He further states that, fearing that the original missive had been lost, he is sending additional

⁴⁵ Op. cit., pp. 155-6, although Michot admittedly draws a very different conclusion from this fact.

⁴⁶ In fact, with regard to the *Iṣārāt*, it is demonstrated below (see the analysis of MIVb) that it must have been composed in some form before or shortly after the inception of Bahmanyār's correspondence with Ibn Sīnā. But the fact that Bahmanyār's questions in the Mubāḥaṭāt as a whole do not appear to bear relation to the *Iṣārāt* is to be accounted for by Ibn Sīnā's extreme reluctance to allow anyone other than Bahmanyār and Ibn Zayla access to it or to even allow it to be discussed but orally.

⁴⁷ For this method of arrangement of the correspondence into "sections," see the list of codicological terms in Chapter One, Part One, Section II.A.

⁴⁸ For a translation and analysis of this letter, see MVIa1 below.

(or duplicate?) questions with his Letter to Ibn Sīnā. Finally, he makes a request that would appear to echo the reason Ibn Sīnā gives for the delay in composing MIII (cf. the translation in [a.1] above): he asks that Ibn Sīnā “facilitate the departure of the messenger,” whom he suspects might be delayed by the chamberlain. On the basis of the information Ibn Sīnā and Bahmanyār provide in their respective letters, it would appear that delays in their correspondence were in part caused by problems related to the daily functions of the bureau. This explanation of Ibn Sīnā’s introduction to MIII is appealing because we have actual evidence, in the form of Bahmanyār’s Letter to Ibn Sīnā, for a similar set of circumstances. Michot’s theory concerning the relation between MIII and the *Iṣārāt*, on the other hand, has no such evidence to recommend it.

While it appears certain that the *Iṣārāt* is not specifically related to MIII, we nonetheless have to address Michot’s argument concerning the similarity in the styles of MIII and Ibn Sīnā’s Letter to the Vizier Abū Saʿd. All of the evidence suggests that the latter letter was composed by Ibn Sīnā shortly after a public debate with Abū l-Qāsim in Hamadān in or around 405/1015.⁴⁹ On the basis of a similarity in style, Michot links MIII with this letter and thus dates MIII to approximately the same period. This led him to the proposed revision in the dating of the *Iṣārāt* and the *Šifāʾ*. However, the evidence presented in the previous chapter concerning Ibn Sīnā’s Letter to al-Ġūzġānī indicates that, in this letter, Ibn Sīnā refers to *two* public controversies, one that had occurred earlier *in Hamadān* (i.e., the 405/1015 controversy), and another one (or the old one revived) which was taking place *in Rayy* at the time that Ibn Sīnā was composing the Letter to al-Ġūzġānī (i.e., sometime after 421/1030).⁵⁰ In all likelihood, then, we can agree with Michot that MIII and the Letter to the Vizier Abū Saʿd do indeed share a similar tone, but it is equally possible to maintain that that similarity in tone is to be related to two separate incidents involving the same person, i.e., Abū l-Qāsim. In the analyses of MI and MII above, it has been argued that both MI and MII were written a few months apart, during the months of 421/1030. Both the internal references in these letters and the relative order of the texts MI—MII in both the Earlier and Later Recensions of the *Mubāḥaṭāt* strongly suggest this conclusion.⁵¹ MIII, then, was most likely written *after* MI and MII.

Furthermore, in MIII, Ibn Sīnā makes reference to an oral session in which Abū l-Qāsim challenged Ibn Sīnā on his “Flying Man” theory while reading *Kitāb an-Nafs* of the *Šifāʾ* to him (MIII:56; see [a.4] above). This

⁴⁹ See Chapter Three, Section II.A.c, for details and references to Michot’s works.

⁵⁰ Loc. cit.

⁵¹ However, the Earlier Recensions exhibit intervening text between MI and MII; this disparity with the Later Recension is addressed below in the analyses of MIVb, and MV as a whole.

oral session can only have taken place in Rayy, since Ibn Sīnā always refers only to that city in his correspondence with Bahmanyār, and we know with relative certainty that Abū l-Qāsim was based in Rayy (see his biography in Chapter Three). Furthermore, we have demonstrated that MII was written before Ibn Sīnā's arrival in Rayy in Ġumādā al-Ūlá 421/May 1030 and that Ibn Zayla's "Memoirs" (MIVa) recounts that visit. Thus, because all the evidence suggests that MIII was written after MII, and MIII contains a reference to an oral session with Abū l-Qāsim, we can assert that MIII was in all likelihood written after Ibn Sīnā's return to Iṣfahān from Rayy. Ibn Sīnā's oral session with Abū l-Qāsim, recounted in MIII, took place in Rayy during his visit there beginning in Ġumādā al-Ūlá 421/May 1030.

In just the same manner that Ibn Sīnā's Letter to the Vizier Abū Saʿd provides us with information about a meeting with Abū l-Qāsim in Hamadān in 405/1015, MIII contains information about another meeting with Abū l-Qāsim in Rayy in 421/1030. The first meeting occasioned Ibn Sīnā's Letter to the Scholars of Baġdād in which he seeks to verify Abū l-Qāsim's claim of allegiance to that group. The second meeting occasioned Ibn Zayla's "Memoirs" which recounts the disciples' attempts to persuade Ibn Sīnā to rewrite the *Inṣāf* and emphasizes Ibn Sīnā's low opinion of the Baġdādī scholars. In both instances, an encounter with Abū l-Qāsim provides the context of Ibn Sīnā's reaction to the Baġdādī scholars. Finally, Ibn Sīnā's Letter to al-Ġūzġānī chronicles Abū l-Qāsim's own reaction to meetings with Ibn Sīnā, which is the same in both instances: Abū l-Qāsim spread slander about Ibn Sīnā's religious views with reference to one of Ibn Sīnā's books. It is no coincidence that Ibn Sīnā makes an intimation in MIII:50 (translated above in [a.2]) to his displeasure at having his books "dragged into it." He had faced a similar situation with Abū l-Qāsim fifteen years earlier in Hamadān when he was accused of trying to imitate the style of the Qurʾān. In conclusion, MIII was written sometime during Ibn Sīnā's period in Iṣfahān between 421-425/1030-1034, but probably shortly after his return there in 421/1030.

II.C.c. *Contents of MIII*

The responses Ibn Sīnā sets forth in MIII suggest that he was responding to a letter sent to him by Bahmanyār in which Bahmanyār provided an account of Abū l-Qāsim's disputations on a number of key themes of Ibn Sīnā's philosophy. All of these themes are related either to *Kitāb an-Nafs* of the *Šifāʾ* or to similar issues in the Mubāḥatāt as a whole.⁵² We may be almost certain that all of the disputations addressed by Ibn Sīnā in MIII were raised

⁵² See the excellent references provided by Michot in his notes, "La réponse," pp. 166ff.

by Abū l-Qāsim in the presence of Bahmanyār. Bahmanyār wrote an account of these disputations, along with contextual information such as the fact that Abū l-Qāsim “laughed” at various arguments by Ibn Sīnā, thus allowing Ibn Sīnā an opportunity to respond. Bahmanyār’s participation in Abū l-Qāsim’s disputations (whether that participation extended only to his physical presence when Abū l-Qāsim articulated his disputations or to his assent to those disputations) caused Ibn Sīnā a great deal of pain. His attitude toward Bahmanyār in MIII vacillates between expressions of hurt and chastisement.⁵³

The structure of MIII raises the question of whether it was written in its entirety at one time or over a period of time as more material from Bahmanyār arrived. References by Ibn Sīnā suggest that the letter consists of three parts, written at different times:

74. As for the requests after that, I have not opened my eye to any part of them for consideration; his⁵⁴ disdain for logic, aided by that Šayḥ⁵⁵ in that, grieved me far too much.

and:

117. As for [this next] question, I received it after I had finished writing this letter.

In the case of paragraph 74, we have an interesting piece of manuscript evidence to suggest that Ibn Sīnā most likely concluded his first draft of MIII with that paragraph. MS X1⁵⁶ contains the text of MIII only up to this paragraph. It is unlikely that this first draft was sent to Bahmanyār, as we might otherwise expect some type of introductory statement from Ibn Sīnā preceding paragraphs 75-116 if he had sent these paragraphs to Bahmanyār independently of paragraphs 47-74. It is more likely that Ibn Sīnā simply set aside the questions from Bahmanyār for a period and then returned to them, continuing with paragraphs 75-116. However, this does not necessarily mean that he then sent to Bahmanyār both parts, i.e., MIII:47-116, in their entirety.

With paragraph 117, we have a definite indication that Ibn Sīnā had received additional material from Bahmanyār and that he could not have sent any part of MIII before writing the remaining paragraphs, i.e., 117-126. He states that he received an additional question (in fact he received at least two, since the first is answered in 117-119, and the second, 120-126, he

⁵³ See his statements in MIII:51, 54, 75, 113-115, and Michot’s translations (he uses the same paragraph numbering system), op. cit.

⁵⁴ I.e., Bahmanyār.

⁵⁵ I.e., Abū l-Qāsim.

⁵⁶ See Chapter One, Part Two, Section I.B.b.1.

calls “another question”) after completing “this” letter. It is difficult to see how he could refer to the letter with the proximate demonstrative pronoun if he had already sent it off to Bahmanyār. The fact that Ibn Sīnā delayed writing to Bahmanyār long enough for Bahmanyār to send him yet more questions also suggests that he is referring in his introduction to MIII to a “promised” letter and not, as Michot contends, the *Išārāt*.

While MIII was written at different sittings and, with regard to its final paragraphs 117-126, after Ibn Sīnā had received some additional questions from Bahmanyār, it was probably sent to Bahmanyār in its entirety.

[MIVa:127-141. Ibn Zayla’s “Memoirs”

See Accretional Mubāḥaṭāt Materials.]

II.D. MIVb:142-209. *Bahmanyār’s (and Abū l-Qāsim’s?) Questions, Ibn Sīnā’s Responses*

II.D.a. *Indications of Temporal Sequence*

In the course of his responses in MIVb, Ibn Sīnā refers to the *Išārāt* twice, the *Šifāʾ* as a whole once, and *Kitāb an-Nafs* of the *Šifāʾ* four times. He also makes reference to some type of meeting in Rayy. Dating MIVb is problematic and depends almost entirely upon two factors: 1. the fact that in the Earlier Recensions it is the first text of the Mubāḥaṭāt as a whole; 2. the dating of MII, which comes after it (and after MVa, MI, and MVb) in those Earlier Recensions. Because the *Išārāt* is mentioned in MIVb, our discussion here will necessarily have to take into consideration the composition dates of 421-425/1030-1034 proposed by Gutas for the *Išārāt*. The temporal references are presented first, then Gutas’s argument concerning the dating of the *Išārāt*, and finally a revision of his conclusions.

1. 147. Let him reflect on these questions in the manuscript of the *Išārāt* on its way to him.⁵⁷
2. 174. And we explained—especially in the *Išārāt*, the *Šifāʾ*, as well as elsewhere....
3. 183. This [topic] is lengthy, and I do not have the time. However, the public in Rayy did find it⁵⁸ very perplexing and they vacillated in their opinions.

⁵⁷ *an-nuṣṣa aṣ-ṣādira ilayhi min Kitāb al-Išārāt*. For the use of the adjective *ṣādir(a)* to mean a text that has been sent to someone, see Bahmanyār’s Letter to Ibn Sīnā, MVIa1:398, translated below. It is also used in the same sense in the letter sent by Ġalāl ad-Dawla, kinsman of ‘Alā’ ad-Dawla ibn Kākūya, to the Caliph al-Qādir bi-llāh in the year 421/1030; see Ibn al-Ġawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, 15:206-7 (*fa-inna kitābī ṣādirun ilā l-ḥaḍrati l-qāhirati al-qādira*, etc.; the form IV verb *aṣḍara* is used in the same letter: *wa-aṣḍartu ḥādihī l-ḥidmata* [i.e., this letter], etc.).

⁵⁸ *fīhi* L, Y: *fīhā* B.

4. 175, 176, 197, 204. References to *Kitāb an-Nafs* of the *Šifāʾ*.

In the discussion above concerning MII, evidence has been presented to date MII to Ibn Sīnā's period of refuge with 'Alā' ad-Dawla in Ḥūzistān from Muḥarram to Ġumādā al-Ūlā 421/January-May 1030. According to the order of the Earlier Recensions of the Mubāḥaṭāt, the following texts structurally precede MII: MIVb, MVa, MI, MVb. This is a considerable amount of correspondence and, as a written correspondence, would have required a reasonable amount of time to compose, receive, and respond to. The composition date of MII and the fact that it is preceded by a sizable amount of correspondence requires that we push back the beginning of the Mubāḥaṭāt as a correspondence to at least a year prior to 421/1030. These two factors make it virtually impossible for us to date the *Išārāt*, mentioned in MIVb, to 421/1030 at the earliest, as Gutas has argued.

Gutas's argument for the dating of the *Išārāt* is bound inextricably to his attempt to date the "Easterners" and is based, as he states, solely "on a sequence of tendencies exhibited by Avicenna in [his] works."⁵⁹ The works to which he refers are: the *Šifāʾ*, Ibn Sīnā's Prologue to the *Šifāʾ*, his Introduction to the "Easterners," and the *Išārāt* itself. Beginning with the verifiable date of completion for the *Šifāʾ*—418/1027—and rightly contending that Ibn Sīnā's Prologue to that work was written after its completion (and as a corrective to al-Ġūzġānī's Introduction to the *Šifāʾ*), he finds it "quite inconceivable" that, had the *Išārāt* already been written, Ibn Sīnā would not have mentioned it in his Prologue.⁶⁰ The reason for this is that Ibn Sīnā *does* mention his book on "Eastern Philosophy" in that Prologue, and because the *Išārāt* and the "Easterners" share the characteristic of having been composed for his closest disciples, we might expect him to have mentioned it along with the "Easterners" in that Prologue. By the same token, the absence of any mention of the *Išārāt* in the Introduction to the "Easterners" itself suggests that the *Išārāt* could not have been written before the "Easterners." Gutas thus proposed the chronology: *aš-Šifāʾ*—the "Easterners"—the Prologue to *aš-Šifāʾ*—*al-Išārāt*, all composed between 418-425/1027-1034. This type of evidence, as useful as it may be for want of explicit evidence, is nonetheless wholly negative. And it requires acceptance of the following assumptions:

- i. that Ibn Sīnā *would have to* mention the *Išārāt* in his Prologue to the *Šifāʾ* if it had already been written;
- ii. that the "Easterners" and the *Išārāt* are so similar that Ibn Sīnā *would have to* mention them together at all times;

⁵⁹ Gutas, *Avicenna*, pp. 123-124.

⁶⁰ Op. cit., p. 123.

- iii. that Ibn Sīnā *would have to* mention the *Iṣārāt* in the Easterners if it had already been written.

In actual fact, none of these assumptions need be granted. Counter-arguments are readily available:

- i. Ibn Sīnā did not mention the *Iṣārāt* in the *Šifāʾ* because of the very explicit conditions he required of its readers; the *Šifāʾ* may have been designed for the common people,⁶¹ but the *Iṣārāt* was for the select few. We need only recall his injunctions concerning the *Iṣārāt* in MI:2 and in the *Iṣārāt* itself.⁶²
- ii. and iii. Despite the posited similarity between the *Iṣārāt* and the “Easterners” in terms of their mutual intended audiences, there is no reason to require that Ibn Sīnā mention them together at all times. And even though Ibn Sīnā’s comments in the Introduction to the “Easterners” articulate that topos of intended audience, it is significant that Ibn Sīnā does not place upon the “Easterners” the injunctions about access he has done with regard to the *Iṣārāt*.⁶³

Both argument and counter-argument rest on assumptions about Ibn Sīnā’s *intentions* and will require some firm piece of evidence before the issue can be resolved. The salient point is that there is no reason to assume the chronology that Gutas has posited. But even if that relative chronology were verifiable, it would not explain why Gutas requires that the terminus a quo of the *Iṣārāt* be 421/1030. The answer to this lies in his interpretation concerning the dating of MII, scil. that it must have been composed in 425/1034 and refers to the loss of a copy of the *Iṣārāt* in that year, and to an earlier loss of the *Inṣāf* in 421/1030. It has been argued above that MII was more likely to have been written in 421/1030. And if the relative chronology of works which Gutas has posited to fill in the years between the end date of the *Šifāʾ*, i.e., 418/1027, and 421/1030, is open to doubt, then there is no reason to suppose that the *Iṣārāt* could not have been written or, at the very least, drafted between 418-421/1027-1030.⁶⁴ These

⁶¹ See his statement in the Introduction to the “Easterners,” Gutas, op. cit., p. 49, for the “common peoples’ *Šifāʾ*.”

⁶² See Gutas’s translations of these passages, op. cit., pp. 54-55.

⁶³ For Ibn Sīnā’s Introduction to the “Easterners,” see Gutas’s translation, op. cit., pp. 44ff., especially par. 7, p. 49.

⁶⁴ There are additional problems with Gutas’s chronology of the “Easterners” and the *Iṣārāt* which will have to be addressed in detail elsewhere. The most significant of these is his contention that the *Iṣārāt* was designed to supplant the “Easterners” (op. cit., p. 123). This contention appears to be based on his understanding of what Ibn Sīnā says in MII:34, i.e. that he had “put away [the *masāʾil al-mašriqiya*] in such a way that no one’s attention would be drawn to them.” But Ibn Sīnā does not mean that he put these *masāʾil* away in the sense that he ceased working on the “Easterners.” It means that he put them away *so that no one would discover them* during the siege of Iṣfahān. Furthermore, precisely what Ibn Sīnā means by *al-masāʾil al-mašriqiya* in

dates allow us to confirm what Ibn Sīnā himself required with regard to the composition of the *Išārāt*: an initial oral environment of teaching it to his students (MI:2). And they allow us to verify the Earlier Recensions' sequence of Mubāḥaṭāt correspondence as beginning with MIVb which, thus, was written before 421/1030 but after the oral teaching (since the *Išārāt* is a *nusha*, a manuscript copy, in MIVb). And that oral teaching most likely took place in Rayy, the city Ibn Sīnā mentions in MIVb.⁶⁵ However, it is important to emphasize that the copy of the *Išārāt* to which Ibn Sīnā refers in MIVb was most likely an early draft. The injunctions Ibn Sīnā sets forth in MI:2 concerning access to the *Išārāt* probably were not a part of that early draft, but were rather formulated as a result of Bahmanyār's request to allow Abū l-Qāsim to read the *Išārāt* (which request occasioned Ibn Sīnā's injunctions in MI:2).⁶⁶

II.D.b. *Contents of MIVb*

The themes raised by the questions in MIVb are almost entirely derived from readings of the *Šifāʾ* (*Kitāb an-Nafs; al-Ilāhīyāt*). These questions may be Bahmanyār's own, or they may be in part influenced by Abū l-Qāsim's disputations about the *Šifāʾ*. While they do not appear to refer to any earlier responses made by Ibn Sīnā, it is not impossible to imagine that there was a preceding discussion with Ibn Sīnā, whether oral or written, that prompted the questions. The fact that MIVb is the first text in the Earlier Recensions of the Mubāḥaṭāt would suggest that MIVb is the first *written* set of questions sent to Ibn Sīnā.

II.E. *MVa:210-266. Responsa*

II.E.a. *General Description*

MVa was preceded by a letter from Bahmanyār and Abū l-Qāsim that is no longer extant. MVa appears to be divided into three parts: 210-223; 224-250; 251-266. Whether or not we should posit an extended period of correspondence, in which Ibn Sīnā returned his responses for each part to Bahmanyār

MII:34 has not been thoroughly investigated. It may be suggested that he is using the term *masāʾil* in MII in a manner akin to al-Ġūzġānī's use of the term with regard to the *Šifāʾ*. Al-Ġūzġānī states that, in composing the *Šifāʾ*, Ibn Sīnā first wrote down the *ruʾūs al-masāʾil*, the "main topics," and then later went back and commented on his "main topics" (Gohlman, p. 58/9). The *masāʾil al-mašriqīya* mentioned in MII were probably of the same nature: the beginning of the composition process in the form of a main topics outline. This will have to be investigated in relation to the term *al-uṣūl al-mašriqīya* which Ibn Sīnā also uses in MII, but at the least this theory raises questions concerning the date of composition of the "Easterners" proposed by Gutas.

⁶⁵ It is impossible to determine whether the meeting in Rayy to which Ibn Sīnā refers in MIVb:183 occurred during the visit to Rayy to which he refers in MII:44, or whether we might infer that Ibn Sīnā made regular trips to Rayy before and during the inception of the correspondence.

⁶⁶ This point has been made above in the analysis of MI.

before the next part was sent out by Bahmanyār, is impossible to determine. Unlike the case of MIVb, we can definitely observe Abū l-Qāsim's participation in the questions sent to Ibn Sīnā. Indeed, it is on the basis of MVa:224-8 that we are able to construct a picture of the manner in which Ibn Sīnā's *aš-Šifā'* was first introduced to its audience and the discussions which thereby resulted.⁶⁷ MVa also contains a different type of example of the "dialogue" between Abū l-Qāsim and Ibn Sīnā. It would appear that, in addition to Bahmanyār's questions (which may have been formulated with the influence of Abū l-Qāsim), we also find Ibn Sīnā responding to disputatious statements by Abū l-Qāsim (see MVa:210-223). Unfortunately, Ibn Sīnā does not seem to have returned the text of these statements from Abū l-Qāsim, so it is impossible to determine their respective lengths or, indeed, their tenor as a whole.⁶⁸ One other point worth emphasizing here is that it would appear that Ibn Sīnā had received duplicate questions from Bahmanyār. An introductory statement before the third and final part of MVa, and one found in all the recensions but Bahmanyār's (MS E), records: "Other questions that had arrived, among them, those that are not duplicates are, etc." (MVa:251). The following is the division of the parts of MVa, with general observations.

II.E.a.1. MVa:210-223. Ibn Sīnā's Responses to Abū l-Qāsim's Disputations
The abbreviations employed by some of the recensions of the Mubāḥaṭāt, particularly the Later Recension, including MS B which Bīdārfar used as his primary witness, are somewhat misleading in this part. Bīdārfar reinforced this confusion by distinguishing the parts of Ibn Sīnā's responses by dividing them into different paragraphs. The abbreviation *ğ*, used for *ğawāb*, introduces Ibn Sīnā's response properly speaking, but this does not mean that the text which precedes this abbreviation consists of questions. This is an important point and may require an example to understand fully. For instance, 210 begins with "As for his statement," *amma qawluhū*, followed by a brief statement, and then 211 begins with the introductory *ğ*, followed by Ibn Sīnā's response. But we are not to understand that 210 is a question asking about a statement *Ibn Sīnā* made, as is the case with the fully constructed questions of MIVb, for example. Rather, 210 is part of *Abū l-Qāsim's* disputation on some passage from the *Šifā'*, followed, in 211, by Ibn Sīnā's rebuttal. If we remove the abbreviations and Bīdārfar's paragraph numbers, and make explicit what is implicit, we have: "As for [Abū l-Qāsim's]

⁶⁷ See the partial translation and discussion in Chapter Three, Section II.A.d.

⁶⁸ However, it is possible that some of these disputations by Abū l-Qāsim remain among the Mubāḥaṭāt materials; cf. MI:28-31.

statement..., then [I say]....” This situation can be verified by the content of some of Ibn Sīnā’s responses. For instance, in the case of 212-213, Ibn Sīnā reveals the fallacy (*fasād*) of the statement recorded in 212.⁶⁹ This situation will make it very difficult to identify the precise passage in *Kitāb an-Nafs* to which Abū l-Qāsim’s disputations may refer.

There is another important consideration with regard to the first part of MVa. The fact that Ibn Sīnā is refuting Abū l-Qāsim’s disputations in the first part of MVa means that some letter or written text must have temporally preceded the composition of this part. This letter does not exist among the texts of the Mubāḥaṭāt in its present form and it is doubtful whether it is any longer extant. It is more likely that Ibn Sīnā used that text for his rebuttals and destroyed the original. At any rate, this means that, according to the order of the Earlier Recensions on the basis of which we must attempt to reconstruct the correspondence in its entirety, a lost letter should be posited between MIVb and MVa.

Finally, in the interest of constructing a genre typology of the Mubāḥaṭāt texts, the type of response Ibn Sīnā provides to Abū l-Qāsim’s disputations, i.e., a brief quotation of a statement by Abū l-Qāsim, followed by his rebuttal, is to be distinguished from the type of dialogue he engaged in with Bahmanyār, in which Bahmanyār asks questions and Ibn Sīnā responds. The former type, found in the first part of MVa, is comparable to Ibn Sīnā’s rebuttals to Abū l-Qāsim in MIII. The latter type is best exemplified by the questions and responses of MIVb.⁷⁰

II.E.a.2. MVa:224-250. Ibn Sīnā’s Responses to Bahmanyār’s Questions

This part contains the questions and responses of Bahmanyār and Ibn Sīnā, including the important 224-228, in which we are provided with a picture of a study session on the *Šifāʾ* held by Bahmanyār, Abū l-Qāsim, and the unknown ‘Abd al-Malik. However, the final passage, i.e., 246-250, is Ibn Sīnā’s rebuttal to Abū l-Qāsim, in which Abū l-Qāsim is explicitly named.

⁶⁹ Ibn Sīnā’s final rebuttal in this section, i.e., 222-223, is a very interesting example. He says, “I return to the terms (*alfāz*) which were set forth defectively (*muḥtalla*),” and then follows this with a quotation of Abū l-Qāsim’s disputation (*šakk*), and brands it a “defective argument.” It is worth noting that in MIII he chastises Bahmanyār (and implicitly Abū l-Qāsim) for characterizing one of his own responses as “defective.” We might imagine that Abū l-Qāsim, learning that Ibn Sīnā deemed his disputations defective, returned the insult by branding one of Ibn Sīnā’s responses as such.

⁷⁰ We must not ignore the possibility that Bahmanyār’s questions could have been influenced by discussions with Abū l-Qāsim but, as in the case of the questions in MIVb, Ibn Sīnā may have been unaware of that influence. In contrast, in his rebuttals of Abū l-Qāsim, he is very much aware of his opponent. Finally, the genres are mixed in cases like MVa:224-228, where Bahmanyār and the unknown ‘Abd al-Malik reveal the participation of Abū l-Qāsim in the course of asking the question.

II.E.a.3. MVa:251-266. Ibn Sīnā's Responses to Bahmanyār's Questions

These are the "other questions" which were not duplicates, as we are told in 251. In the course of composing his responses to MVa, Ibn Sīnā may have received another set of questions, some of which were duplicates of an earlier set. This situation echoes the one described by Bahmanyār in his Letter to Ibn Sīnā (MVIa1) in which he states that he sent out another set of questions arranged in sections because he feared the first set had been lost. It may be possible to argue for a direct connection between this part of MVa and MVIa1, i.e., MVa:251-266 is the second set to which Bahmanyār refers in MVIa1. If this were the case, then we would have to assume that, in addition to the duplicate questions Bahmanyār sent with MVIa1, he sent new questions, to which Ibn Sīnā responded in MVa:251-266.

II.F. MVb:267-309

II.F.a. *Indications of Temporal Sequence*

II.F.a.1. Follow-up Questions

In the Earlier Recensions, MVb follows MI. In the re-organized Later Recension, it follows MVa. Three of the questions asked in MVb are follow-up questions to responses Ibn Sīnā gave in MIVb. Consider:

MIVb:156-8, 184-9, 200-7 → MVb:270-1⁷¹

MIVb:175-6 → MVb:272-4⁷²

MIVb:177-178 → MVb:275-7⁷³

Following the Earlier Recensions, we might suggest an overlapping series of correspondence to account for the relationship between MIVb and MVb:

- i. Bahmanyār sends MIVb;
- ii. Ibn Sīnā returns MIVb as Bahmanyār is sending MI;
- iii. Bahmanyār sends follow-up questions to MIVb (= MVb);
- iv. Ibn Sīnā returns MI;
- v. Ibn Sīnā returns MVb.

The Earlier Recensions would then preserve the temporal sequence of *receipt* of Ibn Sīnā's responses, but not, strictly speaking, the temporal sequence of Bahmanyār's *composition* of questions.

II.F.a.2. Ibn Sīnā's Reference to a Future Meeting

In his response at 274, Ibn Sīnā is unable to respond directly to his interlocutor's

⁷¹ On whether or not the intellect is subject to corporeal affection.

⁷² Concerning the theory that the faculties act only through the body.

⁷³ On the question: Does action occur through the agent's existence and subsistence?

question and concludes by saying, “Perhaps God will facilitate meeting [with you].” We are to understand that such a meeting would allow questioner and respondent to consider the question together. This wish to meet may also indicate that Ibn Sīnā has not met with Bahmanyār for a lengthier period of time than was customary. Ibn Sīnā does refer to a meeting in Rayy in MIVb and it has been argued above that he wrote MII shortly before his arrival in Rayy in 421/1030. The sequence of meetings and written correspondence, following the order of Earlier Recensions, may be reconstructed as follows:

- i. Meeting in Rayy;
- ii. Correspondence MIVb. Ibn Sīnā refers to a meeting in Rayy (MIVb:183);
- iii. Correspondence [Lost Letter]⁷⁴—MVa;
- iv. Correspondence MI. Note MI:27, where Ibn Sīnā says: “This [problem] cannot be resolved without meeting and speaking face-to-face;”
- v. Correspondence MVb. Note MVb:274, where Ibn Sīnā hopes for a meeting;
- vi. Correspondence MII, written in Hūzistān in 421/1030. Ibn Sīnā refers to a meeting in Rayy (MII:44), which may be a reference to (i);
- vii. Meeting in Rayy in 421/1030, documented by Ibn Zayla in his “Memoirs” (MIVa).

II.F.a.3. Reference to Works-in-progress

Bahmanyār’s question at 298 contains references to the topoi of “eastern” and “throne” philosophies which allow us to posit a number of hypotheses about the knowledge of these philosophical approaches on the part of Ibn Sīnā’s students as well as about the development of these approaches in Ibn Sīnā’s philosophy.

298. S.Ṭ. If there is a throne (‘*aršī*) demonstration or an eastern (š*arqī*) demonstration that the faculty of the intellect is not imprinted in matter, and one which can be explained more easily,⁷⁵ would that he might furnish it. For what was said in *Kitāb an-Nafs* requires correction of a number of premisses, as the soul seems not entirely trusting of them for the soundness of the demonstration.

299. Ġ.Ṭ. How sound [those premisses] are! Especially what is based on denying divisibility and on the impossibility of a locus [for the intellect]. Next, the throne [proof]: If God grants it to me, then in the *Throne Philosophy* it shall be.

⁷⁴ See the description of MVa above.

⁷⁵ Reading *ifhām* for Bīdārfar’s *afhām*.

The fact that the student is aware of concepts like “throne demonstration” and “eastern demonstration” would suggest that these were already a part of Ibn Sīnā’s philosophical vocabulary. Also, because the student contrasts these two types of demonstrations with the demonstration set forth in *Kitāb an-Nafs* of the *Šifāʾ*, we might presume that he believes they would offer a different methodology than that characteristic of the *Šifāʾ*, i.e., “one which can be explained more easily.” Finally, the fact that the student is requesting such demonstrations might indicate that he did not have access to a *text* of “eastern” or “throne” philosophy.

With regard to this last issue, Ibn Sīnā’s response is quite revealing. He does not specify by name an “eastern” proof as he does with the “throne” proof. His reaction to the student’s less than enthusiastic support of the premisses set forth in the *Šifāʾ* is to re-affirm their soundness. The two arguments that he singles out are those based on denying divisibility and locus with regard to the intellect, both found in the *Šifāʾ*.⁷⁶ And because he says nothing about an “eastern” proof, it would be reasonable to assume that both arguments would also be a part of “eastern” philosophy. In the first part of his answer, then, he defends the *Šifāʾ* demonstrations and implicitly the “eastern” demonstrations. The essential characteristics of an “eastern” philosophy, then, would not depart from the philosophy propounded in the *Šifāʾ*—at least on this issue.

The second part of Ibn Sīnā’s response concerns a “throne” demonstration, and he makes it very clear that he has not as yet considered the issue of the immaterial nature of the intellect in regard to a “throne” philosophy. If God grants him such a demonstration, it will be in the throne philosophy, by which latter term we may understand a title of a work. Thus, the *Throne Philosophy* as a text was not yet completed at the time of this response. In fact, we have no reason to assume that composition had even begun on the basis of his statement here. With regard to this issue of textual composition, the first part of Ibn Sīnā’s response can provide us no certain answers concerning the composition of an “Eastern” text. He has simply, albeit implicitly, equated the *Šifāʾ* proof with an “eastern” proof. This may indicate either that there was an “Eastern” text or simply that the “eastern” proof is akin to the *Šifāʾ* proof. What argues against the first possibility is the fact that the student cannot refer to such a text for his answer. With the second possibility, we may assume that Ibn Sīnā simply did not conceive of the two proofs as being substantially different.

⁷⁶ The argument from indivisibility maintains that the intelligibles, being indivisible, cannot inhere in a divisible substrate, i.e. matter or the body, so the intellecting faculty must itself be indivisible; see *Kitāb an-Nafs*, p. 190. The argument against locus appears to be a corollary of the indivisibility argument, although Ibn Sīnā calls it “another demonstration” (ibid., p. 192.17): the intelligibles, being separate from matter, cannot occupy position (*waḍʿ*), a predicable (*maqūl*) and consequential (*lāḥiq*) accident of matter; see ibid., pp. 190-192.

In terms of temporal sequence, this question and response is very important, both for the two “philosophies” mentioned there as well as for the internal structure of the Mubāḥaṭāt texts. According to the order of the Earlier Recensions, this question and response, as part of MVb, immediately *precedes* MII. As we have seen, it is in MII that Ibn Sīnā documents the loss of *al-masāʾil al-mašriqīya*, written in quires (*ağzāʾ*), as well as the *Throne Philosophy*, written on slips of paper (*ğazāzāt*). It is very clear from these descriptions that neither work was complete. This fact accords with the information in MVb:298-9, at least with regard to the *Throne Philosophy*, which there has yet to be composed. With regard to *al-masāʾil al-mašriqīya*, the situation is, as usual, less clear. In MII, these *masāʾil*, i.e., topics, are written in quires, and so require a format more substantial than slips of paper, but the use of the term *masāʾil* suggests that the “Eastern” text is still in draft form.⁷⁷ In MVb:298-9, Ibn Sīnā refers only in the most implicit manner to an “eastern” proof, so the progression discernible with regard to the *Throne Philosophy* cannot be further developed. However, it may be significant that the questioner in MVb:298 uses the term *šarqī* for “eastern” and not *mašriqī*, the latter being closer to the terminology of MII.⁷⁸ If the progression from MVb to MII which is discernible with regard to the *Throne Philosophy* is applicable to the “Easterners,” we might imagine that, in the early stages of its conceptualization, the “eastern” philosophy was referred to as *šarqī*, at least by Ibn Sīnā’s students, and not *mašriqī*. The latter term would come later, with the draft of the “eastern” topics, the *masāʾil al-mašriqīya* referred to in MII. Finally, the work in its final stage would become *al-Mašriqīyūn* or, following the evidence of the Ṣignāhī codex,⁷⁹ *Kitāb al-Mašriqīyīn*.

At any rate, the evidence for the progression of a composition entitled *Throne Philosophy* as delineated in the sequence MVb → MII, i.e., the progression from idea awaiting God’s bounty to simple notes on slips of paper, verifies again that the organization of these Mubāḥaṭāt texts in the Earlier Recensions is historically closer to the temporal sequence of composition than that of the Later Recension.

II.F.b. *Contents of MVb*

MVb consists in part of Bahmanyār’s follow-up questions to discussions in MIVb with Ibn Sīnā’s responses, along with new questions and responses

⁷⁷ Again, compare al-Ğüzğānī’s use of the term *masāʾil* in relation to the earliest stage in the composition of the *Šifāʾ*, Gohlman, p. 58/9.

⁷⁸ This may of course be a scribal error, but if so, it is one shared by all of the exemplars of both the Earlier and Later Recensions.

⁷⁹ I.e., MS Dār al-Kutub Hikma 6M (sigla MS C in the present study); see the evidence in Gutas, *Avicenna*, p. 120.

which, however, sound the same themes pertaining to the study of the soul as the previous correspondence. MVb also contains the response, i.e., 271, in which Ibn Sīnā refers to “Ten Questions” which had been kept secret (*ḡānib al-kitmān*). The identity of these ten questions remains to be determined, but they do not appear to be either of the two sets of “Ten Questions” which are extant in the Ibn Sīnā corpus.⁸⁰

II.G. *MVc1-2:310-396. Responsa*

II.G.a. *Indications of Temporal Sequence*

II.G.a.1. MII+MVc1

In the description of MII above, it has been argued that MVc1 most likely accompanied MII. The reason for this is that MII contains Ibn Sīnā’s response to only one question, but he refers twice to multiple questions and the multiple types of responses he has employed in answering them. The fact that MVc1 follows MII in the Earlier Recensions suggests that we may identify MVc1 as containing the additional questions and responses to which Ibn Sīnā refers in MII.

II.G.a.2. MVc1 → MVc2

MVc is to be divided into two parts: one consisting of paragraphs 310-352, the other of paragraphs 353-396. MVc1:310-352 consists of six questions with very brief responses, followed by Bahmanyār’s request to Ibn Sīnā to comment under the questions (324-5). This in turn is followed by a series of passages (326-352) which we are to understand are Ibn Sīnā’s responses to Bahmanyār’s questions. However, in his reply, Ibn Sīnā did not copy Bahmanyār’s questions. We may determine the beginning of MVc2 to be 353, since the question-answer structure returns at this paragraph. MVc2 contains questions and responses as well as a very long passage (373-396) which appears to be a detailed response to a missing question from Bahmanyār.⁸¹ We can be fairly certain that MVc1 and MVc2 could not have been sent together because in MVc2 Bahmanyār asks a number of questions the content of which is contingent upon Ibn Sīnā’s responses in MVc1. In other words, Bahmanyār must have received Ibn Sīnā’s responses to MVc1 in order to ask the type of questions we find in MVc2. Three examples of this sequence will suffice.

⁸⁰ See the discussion in Chapter Three, Section II.A.d, at the end.

⁸¹ These passages are profoundly important for our understanding of the methodology Ibn Sīnā employed in coming to grips with philosophical problemata. In them Ibn Sīnā deals with a metaphysical topic, the nature of substance, and progresses through a variety of solutions before exhorting his interlocutor to participate in addressing the problems involved (see especially 394 and 396). Note also his use of the terms [*muṭālabāt*] *mašriqīya* (373) and *ḡawāb ‘aršī* (375) with regard to the discussion of Bahmanyār’s use of similar terms in MVb:298-9 above.

i. MII+MVc1 → MVc2:353

In MII:37-43, Ibn Sīnā addresses the issue of constancy in plants and animals (in contrast to the human soul) in an incomplete manner. He simply offers alternative responses and evaluates their viability. In MVc2:353, Bahmanyār asks him to “complete the demonstration.” This example allows us to confirm that MII and MVc1 belong together; Bahmanyār must first have received Ibn Sīnā’s responses (MII and MVc1) in order to ask, in MVc2, for the completion of an explanation treated in MII.

ii. MVc1:338, 339 → MVc2:356, 367-8, 369-70

In his responses in MVc1:338, 339, Ibn Sīnā makes two statements: (in brief) “the dispositions of intellects are composite in a way appropriate to intellects” and “the dispositions of souls are composite in a way appropriate to souls.” Ibn Sīnā did not record the questions as part of his responses. In MVc2, Bahmanyār asks a number of questions based on these responses. The most immediately evident one is MVc:356, in which Bahmanyār asks: “What is the meaning of his statement *in the preceding sections* that the dispositions of intellects are composite in a way appropriate to intellects and the dispositions of souls are composite in a way appropriate to souls” [emph. added]. Bahmanyār notes that the statement was made in earlier “sections,” a term that he uses in MVIa1 to describe the organizational structure of his questions.

iii. MVc1:347 → MVc2:360-1

This example requires a more detailed translation:

MVc1:347. Ṭ. What causes the [humoral] temperament is actually of two kinds: one which causes motion toward the temperament, and another which effects the temperament, as it must be what preserves [the temperament] because of what was said in the *Budūr*.⁸²

MVc2:360. S.Ṭ. Why must what effects the temperament be what preserves [the temperament]? A reference to the *Budūr* was made in these sections to [this contention], but it was not stated there, or it was said implicitly, not explicitly. It requires explanation here.

In contrast to Bahmanyār’s phrase in example (ii), viz. “in the preceding sections,” here he says “in these sections,” using the proximate demonstrative pronoun. This usage must be the result of a slip on Bahmanyār’s part. He had in front of him the “sections” of MVc1 when composing his questions in MVc2 and inadvertently referred to those sections as “these sections”

⁸² For this reference to the so-called *Budūr* (along with the manuscript variants for this particular citation), see Accretional Mubāḥaṭāt materials below, Section III.D.a.1.

because he was reading from MVc1. No other explanation for this use of the demonstrative pronoun here can account for the fact that Bahmanyār must first have received Ibn Sīnā's responses in order to compose his next questions. In (iii), then, Bahmanyār must be referring to the "preceding sections" of MVc1, as in (ii).

II.G.a.3. Relation of MII+MVc1 and MVc2 to Bahmanyār's Letter to Ibn Sīnā (MVIa1)

In Bahmanyār's Letter to Ibn Sīnā (MVIa1), he cautiously complains about two features of the responses which he has received from Ibn Sīnā. He says that the responses he received were overly brief, and that Ibn Sīnā did not follow his request to write his responses under the sections into which he had divided his questions. He also notes that, while he expects additional material, perhaps more detailed responses, he has not received any and, fearing that the first set was lost, has sent out a second set with his Letter. Some of the characteristics of MVc1-2 recommend themselves for comparison to Bahmanyār's complaints in his Letter: MVc1, along with MII, contain very brief responses to some of Bahmanyār's questions; and in MVc1, the first part, Bahmanyār asks Ibn Sīnā to "provide commentary under these questions"(324-5). We need not assume that Bahmanyār sent out exact duplicates of his questions in the second set announced in his Letter; and if they were not exact duplicates, then they may have been follow-up questions, akin to those we find in MVc2. However, these shared characteristics are not sufficient reason for us to link MVIa1 to the parts of MVc. Further discussion of MVIa1 below suggests other possibilities as well.

II.H. *MVIa1:397-398. Bahmanyār's Letter to Ibn Sīnā*

In the foregoing analysis of the texts of the Mubāḥaṭāt and their correct order, the question of where to place this letter in the temporal sequence of the discussions has been raised in relation to three other texts: MII (and MVc1-2); MIII; and MVa. The internal characteristics of each text, along with the sequences posited for each of them, allow for the possibility that this letter bears some sequential relation to any one of them. These possibilities are addressed in this description, after the translation of the letter itself. The question of whether or not the questions following this letter in the Later Recension themselves actually bear relation to the letter is also raised. One fact cannot be emphasized enough: this letter is extant only in the Later Recension. This is important for two reasons. First, it suggests that the Later Recension, in addition to deriving in the main from the Earlier Recensions, also contains material that must have been in Ibn Sīnā's own

possession. Bahmanyār's Letter to Ibn Sīnā did not itself require a response from Ibn Sīnā (although the questions said to have accompanied it probably did receive responses), and would not have been returned to Bahmanyār by Ibn Sīnā. It thus likely remained among Ibn Sīnā's own papers. Second, because it is manifestly clear that the Later Recension is a reorganization of some one of the Earlier Recensions and, as such, does not preserve the original temporal sequence of the correspondence, there is every reason *not* to believe that the location of Bahmanyār's Letter to Ibn Sīnā in the Later Recension is the correct location; at the very least, its present position requires verification. A translation of the letter is found here, followed by a discussion of the various possible locations in the correspondence which it might have occupied.

II.H.a. *Translation of Bahmanyār's Letter to Ibn Sīnā (MVIa1)*

397. The servant Bahmanyār ibn al-Marzubān, servant of our master, the chief, the singular and most reverend leader, glory of the realm, pride of the scholars—may God prolong his term, perpetuate his high rank and eminence, and crush his enviers and enemies!—respectfully served his highest presence⁸³ with a letter wrapped around loose pages, questions, and disputations to which he hoped everyone would have access and which the noblest cognizance would thoroughly comprehend. But perhaps with regard to it he made an impetuous demand on his munificence to respond to those questions under each of the separate sections set out in those pages joined with the letter, [which he did only] in order that none would escape his⁸⁴ notice. For these responses that he bestows—perhaps the fundamental principles of the issues would have been lost⁸⁵ on young students—may God prolong the times he countenances them!—so he confines himself in his responses to the summaries found, or perhaps the excessive amount of work involved forces him to be brief?

398. Frankly, I finally had bad thoughts about the letter that was sent off, Satan having led me to believe it was lost, due either to the dillydallying and boorishness of the one conveying it or to his inability to find his presence because of his stupidity. So I sent off after him this offering.⁸⁶ The messenger charged with it left me straight away with the especial intention of bringing this letter to his presence from me. Under [this letter⁸⁷] I recorded the questions in that order [mentioned above] so that he might write a response under each one of them with the fullest commentary. I would also ask his munificence to facilitate permission to depart for the

⁸³ “presence,” *ḥaḍra*, used in epistles as an honorific akin to our “your highness.”

⁸⁴ I.e., Ibn Sīnā.

⁸⁵ *taḍīʿu* read. Reisman : undotted codd. : *yaḍīʿu* read. Bīdārfar.

⁸⁶ “this offering,” i.e., this present letter with the questions Bahmanyār next mentions.

⁸⁷ The attached pronoun is feminine singular *-hā*, referring to the “offering,” *ḥidma*, which Bahmanyār has identified as the letter, i.e., MVIa1, he is sending. For the use of the term *ḥidma* to refer to a letter of correspondence, see Ibn al-Ġawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, cited here above, n. 57.

go-between so that he is not harassed by the chamberlain, in consequence of which he might ask to be excused from my service⁸⁸ while I lose out in the meantime. Would that our master, the chief, the reverend leader, bestower of bounties (may God perpetuate his high rank!) see fit to read this offering, honor me with a response, and make me worthy of his commands and proscriptions, [in which case] I would thereby be elevated⁸⁹—God willing!”

II.H.b. *Analysis of the Letter and its place in the correspondence*

Bahmanyār’s letter refers implicitly and explicitly to the following chain of events:

- i. Bahmanyār sent Ibn Sīnā a letter attached to which were questions, disputations, etc., arranged in sections;
- ii. Bahmanyār received Ibn Sīnā’s responses, which he characterizes as: 1. of a summary nature; 2. not following the sections that he had arranged;
- iii. Bahmanyār awaits a more proper reply from Ibn Sīnā. After an unspecified length of time, he sends Ibn Sīnā Letter MV1a1 with questions arranged in sections. It is not clear whether this new set of questions was made up of duplicates of the first set of questions, or whether they are new questions based on the summary responses he had received from Ibn Sīnā.

Bahmanyār provides a possible reason for the “loss” of the first set of questions: the failure of the first messenger entrusted with conveying the letter and questions to Ibn Sīnā. But, in his concluding remarks, he implies another possibility, or attempts to foresee another likelihood: the departure of his second messenger may be delayed by the chamberlain at the court. The type of language Bahmanyār employs in his letter must be taken into consideration in evaluating the import of his words. The letter is a highly refined bureaucratic missive in which Bahmanyār places all blame on himself for the difficulties in the correspondence. While he states that the stupidity of his own messenger was the cause of the loss of the first correspondence, he has clearly received something from Ibn Sīnā, most likely conveyed by that first messenger.⁹⁰ And we might imagine that he has suggested another

⁸⁸ This reading is very uncertain. The manuscripts are of little help. I conjecture *mutābiʿī*; MSS B, K, N, and F have *m.x.x.ʿ.ī*; Bīdārfar conjectures *mā baqiya* (?), but it is not clear how we would then understand the *min* before this (would we not expect *mimmā*?). My conjecture: *yastaʿfī min mutābiʿī* (“my servant, follower”) → “he requests to be released from [being] my servant” → “...my service.”

⁸⁹ “Would that our master...elevated.” I understand this sentence to be a conditional one, with the perfect tense verb *raʿa* (serving as cohortative) in the protasis, and the passive jussive *uʿlā* in the apodosis.

⁹⁰ We know from the correspondence between Ibn Sīnā, al-Maʿṣūmī, and al-Bīrūnī that messengers did await return responses, sometimes impatiently. Al-Maʿṣūmī says: “The courier

foreseeable problem with this most recent correspondence, i.e., the delay of the messenger, for no other reason than the fact that this is precisely what happened to the first messenger. At any rate, we clearly find two complaints articulated in Bahmanyār's letter: Ibn Sīnā's less than satisfactory responses, and delays in the correspondence. Finally, we might note that the court to which Bahmanyār is sending his correspondence must be the Kākūyid court in Iṣfahān; we cannot suggest that it was the court of Šams ad-Dīn, Ibn Sīnā's previous patron, for the simple reason that the correspondence as a whole does not seem to have been initiated until Ibn Sīnā was safely ensconced in the service of the Kākūyid 'Alā' ad-Dawla.

As for the placement of MVia1 within the sequence of correspondence, a number of problems immediately present themselves. It has been noted that MVia1 exists only in the Later Recension and that the larger order of that Later Recension is manifestly incorrect. Immediately following MVia1, we find the heading: "The questions, which are six sections" (399). Bīdārfar has suggested that these "six sections" consist of the first six questions in MVia2, which follows MVia1 (in all, 400-421),⁹¹ but this cannot be correct. In MVia1, Bahmanyār states with regard to the first set of questions that they are "questions under sections," and he implicitly indicates that he followed this arrangement for the second set. Thus, each question did not in itself constitute a section; rather there were *multiple* questions under each section. If the heading at 399 was actually a part of Bahmanyār's MVia1, and MVia2 is in fact the second set of questions, we will have to determine what parts of MVia2 as a whole comprise those sections. It appears equally possible that the heading at 399 was the work of the recensor who created the Later Recension; we have no way of verifying its authenticity because we cannot make reference to the Earlier Recensions with regard to MVia1.

If MVia1 can be detached from the section that follows it, i.e., MVia2, in other words, if it does not truly bear any relation to MVia2, then we might search for evidence of its relation to any other text or texts of the Mubāḥaṭāt. In the above discussion, three possible texts have been singled out: MIII; MVa; and MVc1-2. A relation between MIII was suggested on the grounds that the introduction to MIII refers to a bureaucratic delay akin to the one Bahmanyār suggests in MVia1 and that at MIII:117-126 Ibn Sīnā responds to questions which "arrived after I had written this letter." A relation with MVa was suggested because at MVa:251 we find the header, "Other questions that had arrived, among them, those that are not duplicates are, etc." A relation with MVc1-2 was suggested because at MVc1:324 we

does not cede me the chance to be comprehensive" (*al-Ağwiba*, p. 60).

⁹¹ Bīdārfar, p. 146, in his note to 399.

find the request, “Would that our master, may God lengthen his days, comment under these questions,” which clearly echoes Bahmanyār’s request in MV Ia1, and because MVc is demonstrably made up of two parts, composed at different times, echoing the situation explained in MV Ia1. All of these cases warrant consideration, but in the present state of research, we can only underscore these possible similarities.

However, there is some slim evidence that MV Ia1 is actually related to MV Ia2, i.e., that MV Ia1 does in fact introduce questions found in MV Ia2.⁹² While we cannot assume that the second set of questions which Bahmanyār sent out were precise duplicates (for it is difficult to imagine that he had made a copy of his questions before sending them to Ibn Sīnā or that his memory would be that precise), it is possible that he sent Ibn Sīnā a second set of questions that repeated the themes of his first set of questions. Considering the situation that Bahmanyār describes in MV Ia1, we should look for questions without responses among the Mubāḥaṭāt texts as a whole in the hope of identifying such questions as the first set of questions. One such example involves MV Ia2:400, the first question after MV Ia1. The similarity between this question and the question recorded at Bīdārfar’s 1001 (in his “Appendix”) is undeniable. The question at 1001 is found in the Ṣiġnāḥī Codex Recension (Badawī 35-36) and in L2, without response.⁹³ It may be possible to posit that the question at 1001 was the first question that went unanswered by Ibn Sīnā, and the question at 400 was the second question that Ibn Sīnā did answer. More such examples might confirm this hypothesis.

II.I. MV Ia2:400-499

II.I.a. *Indications of Temporal Sequence and Brief Description of Contents*

Whatever the conclusion may be concerning the location of MV Ia1, we can be relatively certain that MV Ia2 follows MIII in the temporal sequence of the correspondence because this is the location in which we find it in the Earlier Recensions. Indeed, the very first question of MV Ia2, i.e., 400, is based on a statement made by Ibn Sīnā at MIII:94; and according to the order of the Earlier Recensions, MIII immediately precedes MV Ia2.

However, much about MV Ia2 presents serious problems with regard to its structure and sequence. For instance, the next two questions appear to have been raised as a result of statements made by Ibn Sīnā in MI: MI:12 →

⁹² If this is the case, then the recensor who constructed the Later Recension was correct to place MV Ia1 before MV Ia2.

⁹³ Its presence in the Ṣiġnāḥī codex is very important since the materials that aṣ-Ṣiġnāḥī acquired were most likely at one time a part of Ibn Sīnā’s library; see Gutas, “Avicenna’s Library,” p. 9.

MVIa2:404-411; and MI:20 → MVIa2:412-414. Other questions and responses are related to statements made in MVc1-2: MVc2:376, 386 → MVIa2:475-479; and MVc1:314-315 → MVIa2:480-6. There are also a number of discursive passages by Ibn Sīnā that do not appear to be responses (422-424, 426-430, 431-2), but which are followed by questions based on those passages. A very significant indication of temporal sequence is made in the question at 464, which is introduced as “then, it was said yesterday...,” which would indicate that at least this question, if not others, was raised as the result of an oral teaching session. The question 464 is related to a preceding disputation which begins at 462, where Bahmanyār notes that “[Ibn Sīnā] said the opposite of this in another section....”⁹⁴ What follows is a citation of a response Ibn Sīnā makes in a correspondence (?) that is found only in the Ṣignāhī Codex Recension and MS L2 of the Mubāḥaṭāt, but which also circulated independently of the Mubāḥaṭāt texts. This is the so-called *Li-kulli ḥayawān wa-nabāt tabāt* (see Chapter One, Part Two, Section I.A.c.W2.b).⁹⁵ In this instance, then, we can conclude that at least parts of MVIa2 were preceded by questions and responses that were not included in the texts of the Mubāḥaṭāt in the majority of recensions. It is impossible to determine the reason for this state of affairs. On the basis of these examples, it can be stated with relative certainty that MVIa2 is not a consistent sequence of questions and responses in the way that, for instance, MIVb is.

The confused sequence of questions and responses in MVIa2 sets the tone of the remainder of the texts of the Mubāḥaṭāt. It would appear that in the Earlier Recensions a fairly consistent sequence of correspondence was maintained through the course of texts MI-MVc,⁹⁶ after which the structure began to disintegrate. Whether this disintegration is to be attributed to factors relating to the historical setting of the correspondence,⁹⁷ or is the result of later attempts to include as much of the surviving texts related to

⁹⁴ This disputation appears to be related to Ibn Sīnā’s response in 457-460; 461, which intervenes, does not appear to be related to the two passages and may be a marginal note which made its way into the text.

⁹⁵ See Badawī 94. Bīdārfar claims to reproduce Badawī’s text in his Appendix 1012, but in fact he has not reproduced the concluding passage of Badawī 94, presumably because it is found at 462 in his own edition.

⁹⁶ It is important to remember that this consistent sequence in the case of MI-MVc is the sequence found in the Earlier Recensions, not the Later Recension. See Table 4 above.

⁹⁷ Two such factors related to the historical context are underscored in statements made by Ibn Sīnā and Bahmanyār. One concerns the physical transfer via messengers of the texts of the correspondence. The other one is the result of the fact that Ibn Sīnā did not always follow the organization of the texts of the correspondence which Bahmanyār had wanted to establish. See the analyses of MIII and MVIa1.

the correspondence (as well as texts *thought* to be related to the correspondence) in the developing recensions of the Mubāḥaṭāt may never be answered. Studies of specific themes of the correspondence and the sequential order of the questions and responses of those themes may eventually allow us to plot the correct order of the correspondence for those specific themes, but it may prove impossible to rebuild the larger order of correspondence in the latter parts of the Mubāḥaṭāt texts.

II.J. *MVib1:500-1. Bahmanyār's Note to Ibn Sīnā*

II.J.a. *Translation and Analysis of Temporal Sequence*

500. I⁹⁸ found [the following] in Bahmanyār's hand at the top of a piece of paper (*ruq'a*) containing some questions: 'Would that our most reverend master, the chief, the leader—may God prolong his high standing—see fit to respond to these questions in [his] usual august and generous manner.'

501. And the Šayḥ⁹⁹ had written at the top of the page: 'What man does not know exceeds what he does know and though he may know something in one way, it does not necessarily follow that he will know it in every way, nor does that necessarily produce a gap in his knowledge, especially me with my admission of deficiency and your perseverance in research and investigation.' Then he wrote the responses under the questions.

This Note bears relation to Bahmanyār's Letter to Ibn Sīnā (MVIa1) in that it is found only in the Later Recension. Bahmanyār's request here is also similar to the request he makes in his Letter, although here Bahmanyār asks that the questions be written under the responses without indicating that those questions are further arranged in sections. In this regard, the Note bears comparison to MVc1:324-5, which paragraphs also are found only in the Later Recension. Bahmanyār's Note should be distinguished from his Letter because of the fact that, in the former, the organization of responses that Bahmanyār requests is presented as a *customary* (*ʿāda*) procedure, whereas in the latter Bahmanyār has to reiterate to Ibn Sīnā his reason for instituting the procedure, Ibn Sīnā having neglected to follow it. Whether this distinction would allow us to date the Note and attendant questions and responses to a period after MVIa1, i.e., to a time when the procedure had *become* customary or whether we may only surmise that Ibn Sīnā's failure was an anomaly is difficult to determine. But the fact that Ibn Sīnā appears to have followed the procedure in the majority of the other texts of the cor-

⁹⁸ This pronoun is that of an anonymous scribe.

⁹⁹ I.e., Ibn Sīnā.

respondence (viz. MIVb, MVa, MVb, etc.) would suggest the latter interpretation.

It would seem that the location of Bahmanyār's Note before MVIb2 is correct. In his response to Bahmanyār's request in the Note, Ibn Sīnā, perhaps sarcastically, "admits" (*i'tirāf*) to his deficiency, the very term employed by the interlocutor in the first question of MVIb2: "...what he wrote in the [previous] response, that is, his admission (*i'tirāf*) of inability, is unacceptable."¹⁰⁰

II.K. *MVIb2:502-567. Responsa*

It is with this part of the correspondence that we truly begin to see major variations in the structure and contents of the remaining parts of the correspondence in all of the extant recensions. Four major characteristics of MVIb2 should be emphasized: references to Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī; marginal (?) ripostes by Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī; internal and external disorder; and repetition of questions and responses.

II.K.a. *References to Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī*

At 513, Ibn Sīnā states: "This response is suited to aš-Šayḥ al-Kirmānī." It was identified in the Later Recension as a question through the use of the abbreviation *s(u'āl)*, but it appears to be the conclusion to Ibn Sīnā's response at 512, where he states: "Just because this [answer] is not known does not vitiate knowledge of that other proposition, since knowing the latter does not necessarily entail a statement about the former."¹⁰¹ The qualification Ibn Sīnā makes at 512 accords with the tone of responses we know he made to Abū l-Qāsim in MIII.¹⁰² The reference to Abū l-Qāsim here, as well as

¹⁰⁰ The alternative explanation is that the recensor who created the Later Recension linked MVIb1 and MVIb2 together on the basis of this context, but this would appear less likely.

¹⁰¹ The manuscripts of the Later Recension do not agree on the placement of the abbreviation for *s(u'āl)* here. MS F, which places the abbreviation before 513, i.e., the next passage, and not before 512, is most likely correct. In MS Miškāt 1037, a very late exemplar, Ibn Sīnā's statement has become *sa'alahū š-Šayḥ al-Kirmānī*, which would suggest that the copyist thought the statement introduced the next question. For Ibn Sīnā's use of the term *bāba* as "suited to," see MIII:59, where the reference is clearly to Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī; see also Bīdārfar's gloss from *Lisān al-ʿarab*, p. 177, n. 18.

¹⁰² See for instance MIII:49-50 (translated above in the analysis of MIII), and MIII:56, where Ibn Sīnā recounts what he said about an earlier meeting with Abū l-Qāsim: "This is not one of the arguments which you are forced to accept because that explanation is based on a premise subject to consideration, verification of which is easy only for the perspicacious and the sharp-shooters. Since, in addition to lacking both of these [qualities], he [i.e., Abū l-Qāsim] undertook to examine the premise through the eye of his resentment, the doubt raced to him quicker than water going downhill" (cf. Michot's translation, "La réponse," p. 169); and at MIII:96, Ibn Sīnā says Abū l-Qāsim is someone "who does not come up with solutions and responses but someone who merely contradicts and who plays the role of opponent. By God, one could address him in familiar

the testimonia documented in (ii) below, would suggest that Abū l-Qāsim continued to be involved in the correspondence even after Ibn Sīnā's scathing treatment of him in MIII.

II.K.b. *Marginal (?) Ripostes by Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī*

It would appear that elements of Abū l-Qāsim's reactions to Ibn Sīnā's responses are preserved in MVla2, as well as elsewhere in the Mubāḥaṭāt materials.¹⁰³ In MVla2, they take the form of brief ripostes to Ibn Sīnā's responses. Their tone, challenging and dismissive, makes it unlikely that they were from the pen of Bahmanyār, who generally presents a diminutive personality in his questions.¹⁰⁴ We might imagine that Bahmanyār, upon receipt of Ibn Sīnā's responses, shared a copy with Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī, who wrote his ripostes in the margin, or alternatively, Bahmanyār read Ibn Sīnā's responses to Abū l-Qāsim and recorded Abū l-Qāsim's interjections in the margin.

II.K.b.1. 508. "Praise be to God, only the soothsayers could understand him [i.e. Ibn Sīnā]!" Recorded at the end of Ibn Sīnā's response in 507.

II.K.b.2. 516. "What are we able to perceive if indeed we perceive the mix in the intellect? So the idea *is* an intelligible" [emphasis added].

Recorded at the end of a response in which Ibn Sīnā maintains that perception of the self as mixed with matter can occur in a non-corporeal faculty (i.e., the intellect), in response to a question that seeks to distinguish between perception of the self that is separate from matter and perception of the self that is mixed with matter.

II.K.b.3. 518. "Isn't it not? For this is the [answer] sought. If I had known this, I would not have needed this lengthy [explanation] and prolixity, thereby sparing you, and myself, the trouble."

Recorded after Ibn Sīnā's response: "The separate universal belongs to the intellect and to what *is not in the body*" [emphasis added].

language lacking any obfuscation and with no distortion from him, and he still wouldn't understand it in one way or another, let alone when the discourse is made abstract and universal! Should the likes of him contradict the people of insight by saying, 'This is a great foolishness, and that like that'?! The only great foolishness is him, in substance and in essence!' (cf. Michot, *ibid.*, p. 183).

¹⁰³ For example, MI:28-31 is most likely an extended disputation by Abū l-Qāsim; see also the analysis below of MVlc:668.

¹⁰⁴ See for instance his confession of stupidity (*balāda*) in MVla2:454, which is undoubtedly the origin of Faḥr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī's reference to Bahmanyār's "stupidity" in his *al-Mabāḥiṭ al-mašriqīya*, 2:268. 4-5.

II.K.c. *Internal and External Disorder*

To document the disorder of MVIa2 found in all recensions, we must first distinguish between disorder which is a result of manuscript transmission, and disorder intrinsic to the written record of the Mubāḥaṭāt texts. The first is represented by the disorder found at the beginning of MVIa2 in all of the extant Earlier Recensions¹⁰⁵ and is to be attributed to a confusion of the folia in some one exemplar of an Earlier Recension. The second type of disorder, evident in the two examples provided here, is related to sequences of questions and responses. The fact that the sequence of questions and responses appears to be incorrect in all of the Recensions, including Bahmanyār's Recension (MS E), is difficult to explain, but it may be related, in its earliest instance, to problems having to do with the receipt of the correspondence by Bahmanyār (i.e., he wrote down what he received in the order of receipt, not in the order of the development of the discussion, at least in the later texts of the correspondence). This explanation would account for both examples of disorder given below. Another possible explanation may be that what appears to be out of sequence to us may represent a different type of order conceived by Bahmanyār for the textual presentation of the philosophical discussion, but it would not be wise to attempt to address questions of editorial intentions at this stage of the research.

II.K.c.1. Internal Disorder in MVIb2

The following questions and responses appear to be out of order: 527-8, 529-30, 538-9, 540-1, 542-544. 542-544 appears to be the initial question and response.¹⁰⁶ The questions in 538-9¹⁰⁷ and 540-1 both make reference to phrases Ibn Sīnā uses in the response in 542-4 and so must temporally follow 542-4. 527-8 and 529-30 both appear to be based on 541-2, because both make reference to an "assumption" stated by Ibn Sīnā in the response in 541-2. This order is arranged as follows (Q[uestion]; R[esponse]):

¹⁰⁵ See Table 4 above.

¹⁰⁶ Neither the question nor the response in 542-4 is preceded by abbreviations to indicate which is the question and which the response, but their content indicates that 542 is Bahmanyār's question, and 543-4 Ibn Sīnā's response.

¹⁰⁷ It should be noted that the abbreviation *s(uṣāl)* which introduces 537 is incorrect. 537 is Ibn Sīnā's conclusion to his response in 536. 538, identified as a response by the abbreviation *ḡ(awāb)*, is in fact Bahmanyār's question; Ibn Sīnā's response to 538 begins at 539.

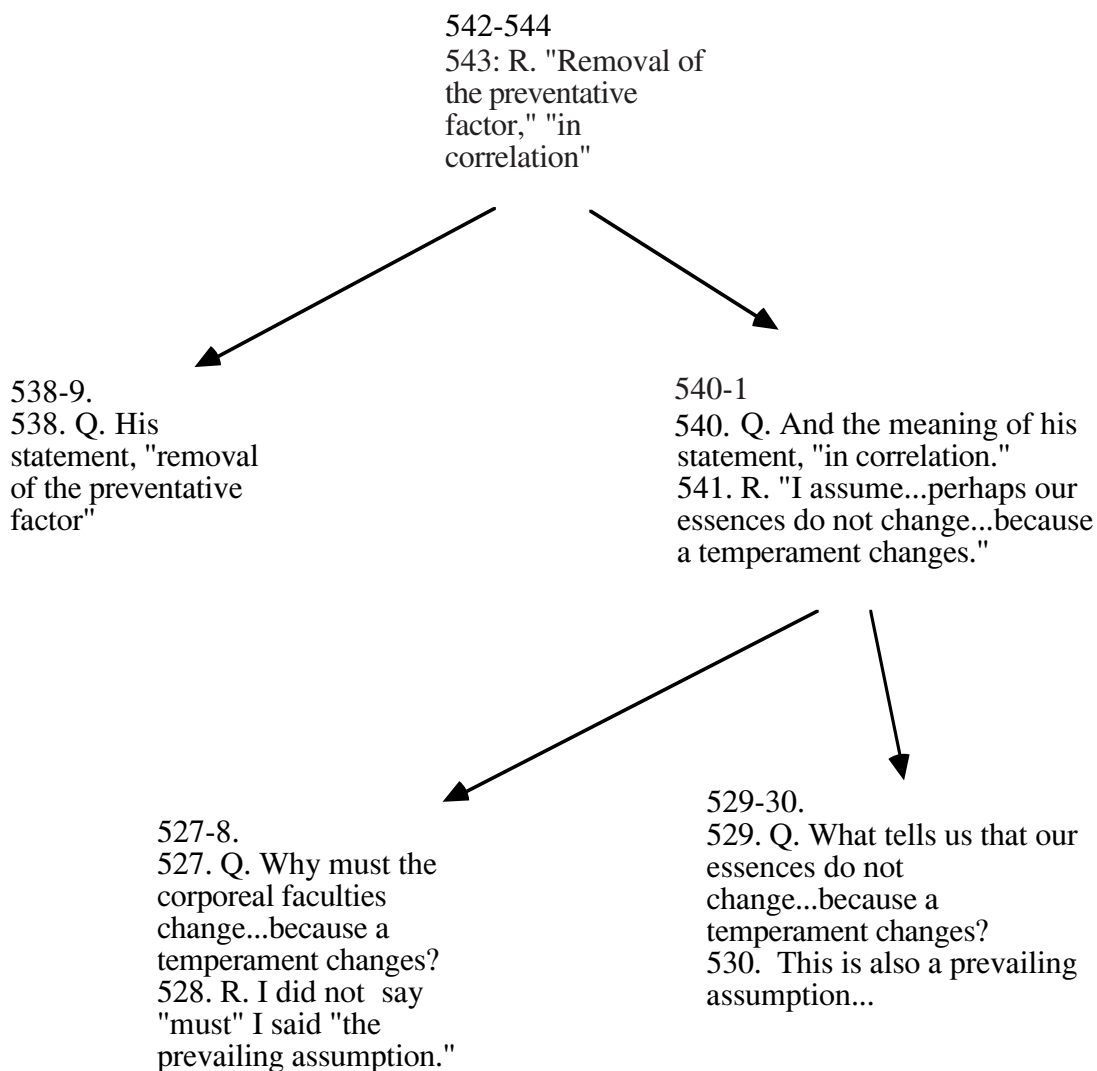


Figure 4: Re-ordering Parts of MVib2

II.K.c.2. Disorder of Questions and Responses across the Later Parts of the Mubāḥatāt

It is obvious that the sequences of questions and responses in the later parts of the Mubāḥatāt (i.e., those parts after MVc or perhaps after MVla2) in both the Earlier and Later Recensions do not reflect the historical order of the philosophical discussions. This disorder would appear to begin with the questions and responses found in MVib2. The following example will suffice to make this clear (emphasis added).

MVlc:725 → MVib2:565

MVlc:725. S.Ṭ. “Why does a stronger sensible prevent the senses from perceiving the weaker sensible?”

Ḡ.Ṭ. “Two things prevent that. The first is the *damage* caused by an affection *which happens to the matter....*”

MVIb2: 565. S.Ṭ. “It has been stated that it is because of *damage which happens to the matter* that the stronger sensible prevents perception of the weaker sensible.”

[No Response]¹⁰⁸

MVIc:725 was textually recorded *after* MVIb2:565 but it is actually the reverse order which represents the progression of the discussion.

II.K.d. *Repetition of Questions and Responses*

There are two types of duplicate questions and responses in the Mubāḥaṭāt recensions as a whole. There are those that will be referred to as recensional duplicates, i.e., duplicates that are the result of the incorporation into one recension of copies of the same questions and responses from different sources (scil. fascicles or slips of paper). If we admit a progressive inclusion of materials into the Earlier Recensions from different sources as those sources became available, we can understand how such duplication took place. For instance, if the same question and response was copied into two different fascicles at different times, there would be two copies available for incorporation into the Earlier Recensions.¹⁰⁹ A list of such recensional duplicates is found in Appendix E. These recensional duplicates are to be distinguished from duplicates that may be traceable to the work of the actual participants in the discussions. From the evidence presented above concerning MVIa1, Bahmanyār’s Letter to Ibn Sīnā, as well as the incidental header found at MVa:251, we know that Bahmanyār occasionally sent Ibn Sīnā the same or similar questions. We find an excellent example of this type of duplication in MVIb2:523-4 and 547-8.

¹⁰⁸ Again, the placement of abbreviations in the Later Recension used by Bīdārfar is inaccurate. The next passage, i.e., 566, is introduced as a response with the abbreviation ḡ(*awāb*), and one might thereby imagine that 566 is the response to 565. 566 is in fact a question to which 567 is the response. 565 and 566 are not related.

¹⁰⁹ It is significant that no recensional decisions were made concerning such duplicates; this would suggest that the recensor(s) who undertook the compilation of the Earlier Recensions (excluding Bahmanyār’s recension, MS E) and the Later Recension did not have the authority to make decisions about the elimination of text; rather his (or their) role was simply to *preserve*.

Table 6: An Example of Duplication in MVIb2	
MVIb2:523-4	MVIb2:547-8
523. I have spoken and found what is necessary for the syllogism,^a but I have fallen into another uncertainty. There remained another object of research. Why does one faculty of the body, such as the estimative faculty, perceive the forms (<i>hayʿāt</i>) that appears in its substrate (<i>mawḍūʿ</i>) from something else, and another does not? 524. This too is another headache we did not answer.	547. S.Ṭ. Why is it that one faculty of the body, such as the estimative faculty, perceives a form that appears in it from something else, and another does not? 548. Ğ.Ṭ. I do not know. There is no god but God! Repeated profession of ignorance is shameful for leaders.

These two sets of questions are essentially the same, but Ibn Sīnā's responses differ markedly in tone. It is significant that 523-4 does *not* appear in Bahmanyār's Recension (MS E) and it was perhaps never sent to him. But we may imagine that if Bahmanyār did not receive a response to the question he asked at 523, he could have sent a slightly modified version of the question to Ibn Sīnā, i.e., 547, and received a response from Ibn Sīnā which, while adding nothing new to the initial response, articulated that response in a very different manner.¹¹⁰

II.L. MVIc:568-798. *Responsa and Ibn Zayla's Correspondence*

In MVIc two elements are added to the textual record of the correspondence between Ibn Sīnā and Bahmanyār and Abū l-Qāsim: Ibn Zayla's correspondence with Ibn Sīnā; and texts shared between the Mubāḥatāt and *at-Taʿlīqāt*. Another element of MVIc is the presence of marginal (?) ripostes by Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī, a feature shared with MVIb2.

^a *istahraḡtu* B : *istaraḡtu* A, L1 : ʿstrt Y. The reading of MSS A and L1 would mean "[I have spoken] and rested...." The reading of MS Y is senseless. Bīdārfar was correct to keep the *lectio difficilior*, and there is some evidence to support it. In MIII:109, Ibn Sīnā classifies the ranks (*ṭabaqāt*) of *mustahriḡīn*, and his discussion there indicates that *istahraḡa* involves determining or finding the middle term of a syllogism. See also his statement in his conclusion to the *Twenty Questions on Logic* (ed. Dānišpažūh, p. 103.12-13) where he recounts his determination of "everything that leads to the conclusion of conditional questions" (i.e. the middle terms that allow for the conclusion of conditional syllogisms), using the same verb. Bahmanyār is referring to this process here.

¹¹⁰ It should be admitted that Ibn Sīnā's response in 524 is more consonant with his usual tone than the response in 548; there may have been a cleaning-up of Ibn Sīnā's tone in 548 on the part of a later recensor.

II.L.a. *Ibn Zayla's Correspondence with Ibn Sīnā*

The research interests of Ibn Zayla have been discussed in Chapter Three. These research interests were determined by identifying the content and references of questions explicitly attributed to Ibn Zayla as well as reports about his works from al-Bayhaqī's biography of him in the *Tatimma*. A composite picture of his philosophical studies include his interest in the classification of the sciences (on the basis of Ibn Sīnā's Letter to Ibn Zayla, found in a modified version in MVic); his study of parts of the *Inṣāf*¹¹¹ (based on the identification of Ibn Zayla as the author of MIVa, the "Memoirs," and the explicit identification of him as the interlocutor at 591, a question derived from Ibn Sīnā's commentary on the *Theology* from the *Inṣāf*); and his abridgment of Ibn Sīnā's *as-Samā' aṭ-Ṭabī'ī* from the *Šifā'* (al-Bayhaqī). Ibn Zayla's interest in Ibn Sīnā's commentaries on Aristotle's works may allow us to identify an additional interest in Aristotelian logic. There are questions in MVc which are based on *al-Burhān* of the *Šifā'* (759-763). And one very interesting question on logic, i.e., at 696, appears to be based on a reading of Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics* (in Arabic *Kitāb al-Burhān*); here the interlocutor asks what is meant by a particular passage in *Kitāb al-Burhān* to which Ibn Sīnā responds, "I too do not understand what he means...." The question, thus, is clearly not based on Ibn Sīnā's own *Kitāb al-Burhān* of the *Šifā'*, but must rather be based on the Arabic translation of Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics*.¹¹²

All of these characteristics allow us to identify a sizeable portion of MVic as questions from Ibn Zayla to Ibn Sīnā. Generally speaking, the following questions and responses are to be identified as an Ibn Zayla—Ibn Sīnā correspondence: 568-636, 681-5, 693-701, 759-763, 797-8. Identification of the passages from Ibn Sīnā's works to which these questions refer is provided in Appendix F. 797-8 is actually a passage taken *in toto* from Ibn Sīnā's commentary on the *Theology* (ed. Badawī, pp. 56.17-57.13), and we may assume it formed part of Ibn Zayla's "papers." The remaining questions and responses of MVic are to be attributed to the correspondence between Bahmanyār (and Abū l-Qāsim) and Ibn Sīnā, and sound the same themes (with particular reference to the study of the soul through readings of the

¹¹¹ I.e., Ibn Sīnā's commentaries on the *Theology* of Ps.-Aristotle, and Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, Book Lambda.

¹¹² Ibn Zayla's quotation (*qawluhū*) of Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics* does not appear to have a precise correspondence in the extant Arabic translation of that work (Mattā ibn Yūnus's Arabic translation of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq's Syriac), although the issue to which his question is directed may be identified as I.9.75b36-76a2 (ed. Badawī, pp. 355f.) Could this question on the *Posterior Analytics* by Ibn Zayla suggest readings in those parts of the *Inṣāf* that are now lost? Identifying the questions Ibn Zayla asked on the extant parts of the *Inṣāf* has been relatively easy; but there may be additional questions among the Mubāḥaṭāt texts which are on the lost parts of the *Inṣāf*.

Šifāʾ) of the earlier texts of the correspondence which are explicitly attributed to Bahmanyār.

II.L.b. *At-Taʿlīqāt Passages*

The presence of passages from MVic in the *Taʿlīqāt* raises serious questions about the relation between the two works which we may not be able to answer until research on the latter work is undertaken in a comprehensive manner. In both examples the transfer of passages from the Mubāḥaṭāt to the *Taʿlīqāt* does not appear to be attributable to the work of later recensors creating the *Taʿlīqāt*, but rather may be the work of Ibn Sīnā himself. This is because the transfer is not a simple extraction of passages from the Mubāḥaṭāt for inclusion in a work titled *at-Taʿlīqāt* (a more common form of recensional activity), but rather takes the form of a reworking of questions and responses into the narrative style that is characteristic of the texts now referred to as *at-Taʿlīqāt*. This of course raises questions about the identity of the materials of the *Taʿlīqāt* in Ibn Sīnā's conception, as opposed to that of a later recensor's conception. For *at-Taʿlīqāt* as a title of a work by Ibn Sīnā has even less evidence to support it than the title al-Mubāḥaṭāt. Gutas was the first to suggest that the works now called al-Mubāḥaṭāt and *at-Taʿlīqāt* were originally materials which Ibn Sīnā referred to as *al-Lawāḥiq*¹¹³ and this suggestion has much to recommend it, albeit with certain modifications. Inasmuch as the materials of the Mubāḥaṭāt consist of a written correspondence in the form of questions and responses, it is unlikely that they were ever a part of what Ibn Sīnā referred to as *al-Lawāḥiq*; none of Ibn Sīnā's characterizations of *al-Lawāḥiq* suggest this.¹¹⁴ But it would appear very possible that Ibn Sīnā could have reworked parts of his correspondence into expository passages for inclusion in his *al-Lawāḥiq*. For, after all, Ibn Sīnā does describe the *Lawāḥiq* as a sort of commentary on the Šifāʾ, and part of such a commentary might reasonably include any resolutions to philosophical problemata that resulted from his correspondence with readers of the Šifāʾ (i.e. Bahmanyār and Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī). Future research may lead to the identification of parts of *at-Taʿlīqāt* as Ibn Sīnā's *al-Lawāḥiq*.

- i. 739 (Bīdārfar, p. 253.3-7) was incorporated into *at-Taʿlīqāt*, p. 96.8-13;
- ii. 745-6 (Bīdārfar, pp. 255.13-257.5) was incorporated into *at-Taʿlīqāt*, pp. 104.23-105.18.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ Gutas, *Avicenna*, pp. 140-144.

¹¹⁴ These characterizations are found in: Epilogue to *as-Safsāṭa* of the Šifāʾ, p. 114.8-10 (transl. Gutas, *Avicenna*, pp. 37-8); *al-Ḥayawān* of the Šifāʾ, p. 225.2-5; the Prologue (*al-Madḥal*) of the Šifāʾ, p. 10.16-18 (transl. Gutas, *ibid.*, pp. 51-2); and Introduction to the "Easterners" (transl. Gutas, *ibid.*, p. 49).

¹¹⁵ These two references have been noted by Janssens in "Les Taʿlīqāt," p. 110, n. 4, where two additional correspondences are also noted: 853, 854 = *at-Taʿlīqāt*, p. 80.24, 27; and 858 = *at-Taʿlīqāt*, 83.12-14. However, there is no indication that these two statements actually belong in

II.L.c. *Marginal (?) Ripostes by Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī*

The nature of these ripostes has been discussed above (K.b.). Two additional passages from MVic may be included here.

- i. 667: riposte to Ibn Sīnā's response in 666;
- ii. 668-9: riposte to Ibn Sīnā's response in MVib2:502-3.

[MVId:799-817. Bahmanyār's *talhīṣ* of parts of *aš-Šifā'*: *al-Ilāhīyāt*
See Accretional Mubāḥaṭāt materials.]

[MVie:820-843. Ibn Zayla's treatise on the attributes of God with two questions and responses

Only the two questions and responses can be considered part of the Mubāḥaṭāt; see the discussion in Accretional Mubāḥaṭāt materials.]

II.M. *MVIf:844-901. Responsa and Dicta*

The contents of MVIf share many of the features of MVib2 and MVic: recensional duplicates; shared passages between the Mubāḥaṭāt and the *Ta'liqāt*; and especially the presence of questions and responses from the correspondence between Ibn Zayla and Ibn Sīnā. There are no fewer than seven recensional duplicates in MVIf,¹¹⁶ and more may be identified with additional research. The passages common to the Mubāḥaṭāt and the *Ta'liqāt* are 853, 854, and 858, all of which were found on a piece of paper (*ruq'a*), according to the note at the end of 851.¹¹⁷ Questions that can be attributed to Ibn Zayla include 862-868, 871, 873, 875-877, 879, 882-885, 895-[898].¹¹⁸

II.N. *Bīdārfar's al-Mulḥaq*

The provenance of most of the passages gathered together by Bīdārfar in his *al-Mulḥaq*, or Appendix, is very problematic, and this situation is exacerbated

the Mubāḥaṭāt at all. We are told that they were "found on a piece of paper" (see Bīdārfar, p. 304.ult.). This suggests that their inclusion in the Mubāḥaṭāt was based on the decision of a recensor, and so this case differs with the case of the two correspondences listed above in that the latter clearly derive from Ibn Sīnā's responses in the Mubāḥaṭāt.

¹¹⁶ See the table in Appendix E.

¹¹⁷ It is clear that this note does not belong with 851, though Bīdārfar chose to attach it to that passage, but rather introduces 852-860. It should also be noted that the references to the *Ilāhīyāt* of the *Šifā'* which Bīdārfar provides for these brief statements are only marginally relevant. For the concordance of the passages with the *Ta'liqāt*, see the note above in the description of MVic.

¹¹⁸ A typographical error in Bīdārfar's text omits the paragraph number 898.

by Bīdārfar's eccentric arrangement and treatment of them.¹¹⁹ They derive from the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension and MS L2.¹²⁰ Two portions of this Appendix may be identifiable, but the remainder will require additional research. The first portion is to be identified as parts of a text to which Bahmanyār and Ibn Sīnā refer to as *Budūr*. Because this text is referred to in the Mubāḥaṭāt correspondence, it cannot be considered a part of that correspondence and is accordingly treated here in Section III.D. The other identifiable portion seems to consist of questions and responses on Ibn Sīnā's *as-Samāʿ at-Ṭabīʿī*. As such we can identify these as part of the Ibn Zayla—Ibn Sīnā correspondence. These questions and responses are 1107-1137.¹²¹ One of these passages, i.e., 1108, appears to be a part of the actual abridgment of Ibn Sīnā's *as-Samāʿ at-Ṭabīʿī* by Ibn Zayla, and thus provides us with some indication of the nature of that abridgment. It is not a question put to Ibn Sīnā, but rather Ibn Zayla's commentary on a statement made by Ibn Sīnā in *as-Samāʿ at-Ṭabīʿī*. This would suggest that Ibn Zayla's abridgment may have included a certain amount of commentary. The concordance between these questions and *as-Samāʿ at-Ṭabīʿī* is found in Appendix F.

As for the remaining passages of Bīdārfar's *al-Mulḥaq*, we have already noted the presence of questions without responses (e.g., 1001, 1002), which may be duplicate questions sent by Bahmanyār to Ibn Sīnā which went unanswered. We also find questions and responses that are likely part of the Mubāḥaṭāt, although how they fit into the sequence of the correspondence remains to be determined. These are:

1004. Related to 422-424.

1012. Related to 462; must have temporally preceded 462, since Bahmanyār quotes it at 462.

¹¹⁹ The characteristics of Bīdārfar's treatment of these passages include the fact that he does not collate duplicate passages found in the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension (which he reproduces from Badawī's edition); he leaves out passages that properly belong with others recorded in his *al-Mulḥaq* (e.g., he leaves out the concluding passage to his 1012, i.e., the concluding passage to Badawī's 94, because he has recorded Bahmanyār's quotation of it at his 462), but he does include other duplicates (e.g., 1075 is a duplicate of his 660); and while he has combined the contents of MS C (via Badawī's edition) and MS L2, he does not indicate in his notes which passages are unique to one or the other (for instance, 1141-1152 are unique to MS C; and 1153-1157 are unique to MS L2); this situation resulted in Michot's inability to identify 1153-1157 with any passages in Badawī's edition (see Michot's appendix in "La réponse," p. 217).

¹²⁰ The concordance of the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension and L2 in relation to Bīdārfar's paragraph numbers for the *Mulḥaq* can now be had from the table in Appendix C (i.e., the numbers beginning with 1001). Bahmanyār's recension also contains one passage: Badawī 186 = Bīdārfar 1087. And MS A of the Earlier Recensions contains the following: Badawī 40 = Bīdārfar 1002; Badawī 41-2 = Bīdārfar 1003; Badawī 65 = Bīdārfar 1009; Badawī 485 = Bīdārfar 1141. See Table 4 above.

¹²¹ For the concordance of these passages with Badawī's edition of MS C, see the appendix in Michot, "La réponse," p. 217.

1139. Related to 735.

1140. Recensional duplicate of 717.

1142 and 1143 would appear to be recensional duplicates which cast the question and response in a narrative structure (i.e., “a disputation was raised and it was said...and the response [was]...,” and “a disputation about...was raised...and the response was...” but the originals do not appear to be extant among the texts of the Mubāḥaṭāt.

Finally, we might note that 1008 is a duplicate of the marginal note connected to 491.

II.O. *Historical Sequence of the Correspondence: Summary and Conclusions*

Before turning to the Accretional Mubāḥaṭāt materials, it may be useful to summarize the findings of the preceding descriptions and analyses and attempt to construct a historical sequence for at least part of the correspondence. The two main elements of the Mubāḥaṭāt are:

1. a correspondence which Bahmanyār and Abū l-Qāsim engaged in with Ibn Sīnā on topics derived from readings of the *Šifāʾ*. These topics are by and large related to Ibn Sīnā’s study of the soul;
2. a correspondence between Ibn Zayla and Ibn Sīnā, concerned primarily with issues related to the classification of the sciences, a study of Ibn Sīnā’s *al-Inṣāf*, or parts of it, and a study of Ibn Sīnā’s *as-Samāʿ aṭ-Ṭabīʿī* of the *Šifāʾ*.

The historical sequence of the second element, the correspondence between Ibn Zayla and Ibn Sīnā, may be dispensed with first, since it does not contain any historical references that would allow us to provide precise dating. The fact that Ibn Zayla’s questions concern Ibn Sīnā’s *as-Samāʿ aṭ-Ṭabīʿī* of the *Šifāʾ* and parts of the *Inṣāf* indicates that they must have been asked after the completion of both works. The *Samāʿ aṭ-Ṭabīʿī* is dated to around 412-414/1022-1024;¹²² and, on the basis of the information Ibn Zayla provides in MIVa (the “Memoirs”), the *Inṣāf* was complete by 420/1029 and lost in the plunder of Ibn Sīnā’s books in 421/1030. Ibn Zayla’s questions on these works could have been asked anytime after their respective dates of completion. All of the identifiable questions on the *Inṣāf* in the Mubāḥaṭāt deal with Ibn Sīnā’s commentaries on *Theologia Aristotelis* and Book Lambda of Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*, as well as his *Marginal Notes on De Anima*, the very texts that appear to have survived. But neither Ibn Sīnā nor Ibn Zayla makes reference to the survival of any part of the *Inṣāf*; and the evidence from the Ṣignāḥī codex suggests that those surviving parts were “notes and

¹²² Gutas, *Avicenna*, pp. 104-105.

extracts by a disciple [read: Ibn Zayla],” as Gutas has argued.¹²³ It may be suggested, then, that Ibn Zayla’s questions were asked before the loss of the *Inṣāf* in 421/1030. If this is the case, it may be possible that other questions in the Mubāḥaṭāt have bearing on other parts of the *Inṣāf*, but it may also prove impossible to identify them, since those parts of the *Inṣāf* have not survived. At any rate, the parts of the Mubāḥaṭāt that we can ascribe to the Ibn Zayla—Ibn Sīnā correspondence are probably to be dated to before 421/1030, but this is an admittedly provisional dating.

The historical sequence of the correspondence between Bahmanyār, Abū l-Qāsim, and Ibn Sīnā has received extensive treatment in the foregoing analysis. The following chart plots the development of these parts of the Mubāḥaṭāt, according to the order of the Earlier Recensions. See also the chart of the Chronology of Ibn Sīnā’s Life and Works in Appendix G, which makes reference to the extant portions of the correspondences of the Mubāḥaṭāt in relation to Ibn Sīnā’s other works.

¹²³ Gutas, op. cit., p. 139.

Table 7: The Historical Order of MI-MVib2	
Dates and Acitivities	Correspondence
Before 421/1030 Visit to Rayy from Iṣfahān Draft of Iṣārāt	
	MIVb (reference to Rayy, Iṣārāt) Lost Letter MVa (responds to Lost Letter) Lost Letters MI (refers to "a number of letters")
Working on al-Ḥikma al-‘arṣīya and al-masā’il al-mašriqiya	
	MVb (references to "throne proof" and "eastern proof")
Visit to Rayy?	
Muḥarram 421/January 1030 Sack of Iṣfahān: loss of a copy of Iṣārāt, al- Ḥikma al-‘arṣīya, al-masā’il al-mašriqiya, al-Inṣāf.	
	Bahmanyār sends letter inquiring about books and includes questions of MVc1.
Muḥarram-Ġumādā al-Ūlā 421 January-May 1030 Ibn Sīnā in Ḥūzistān	Responds to Bahmanyār with MII and responses to MVc1. Bahmanyār sends questions of MVc2, Ibn Sīnā responds.
Ġumādā al-Ūlā-? 421 May-? 1030 Ibn Sīnā in Rayy, meets with Bahmanyār and Abū l-Qāsim. Ibn Zayla recounts this visit in MIVa.	
? 421-425/ ? 1030-1034 Ibn Sīnā in Iṣfahān	MIII (Ibn Sīnā refers to meeting with Abū l- Qāsim) MVla1 Bahmanyār’s Letter to Ibn Sīnā? MVla2 MVib1-2

III. ACCRETIONAL MUBĀḤAṬĀT TEXTS

The presence of texts in some of the recensions of the Mubāḥaṭāt which cannot properly be considered part of the Mubāḥaṭāt has been signalled regularly throughout this study. The reason for their eventual inclusion in larger recensions of the Mubāḥaṭāt is to be attributed partly to attempts by later recensers to preserve all miscellaneous texts related to Ibn Sīnā and his students in one place and partly to the disordered nature of Ibn Sīnā’s papers (best represented by the case of the Ṣignāḥī codex). The four texts that stand out in this regard are Ibn Zayla’s “Memoirs,” Bahmanyār’s *talḥīṣ* of part of the *Ilāhīyāt* of the *Šifāʾ*, Ibn Zayla’s treatise (or *talḥīṣ*?) on the attributes of God, and the so-called *Books of Buḍūr*. Ibn Sīnā’s Letter to Kiyā may or may not be considered a part of the Mubāḥaṭāt. If it was included in

the Mubāḥaṭāt because of a misidentification of the recipient of this letter as Bahmanyār, then it surely does not belong. But insofar as the Mubāḥaṭāt is a collection of Ibn Sīnā's correspondence with his students and colleagues, the Letter to Kiyā may be considered a part of the Mubāḥaṭāt. Arguing against the latter possibility is that the Letter to Kiyā does not find a place in the Mubāḥaṭāt in the vast majority of extant manuscripts.

III.A. MIVa:127-141. *Ibn Zayla's "Memoirs of a Disciple from Rayy"*¹²⁴

This letter recounts Ibn Sīnā's stay in Rayy after the sack of Iṣfahān in 421/1030 and his disciples' attempts to convince him to rewrite the *Inṣāf*. These attempts were probably led by Ibn Zayla whose questions on the *Inṣāf* in the Mubāḥaṭāt underscore his interest in the work. It is unknown-precisely how long Ibn Sīnā remained in Rayy, but it could have been a lengthy stay. Ibn Zayla tells us that the books of the Baḡdādī scholars were sent for from Baḡdād and read. This process of acquiring the books can be expected to have taken a number of months. At any rate, while Ibn Zayla's "Memoirs" is certainly from the period in which the Mubāḥaṭāt as a correspondence was under way, and while it provides the context in which Ibn Sīnā met with students at Rayy when not corresponding with them, it does not properly belong to the Mubāḥaṭāt itself.

III.B. MVIId:799-819. *Bahmanyār's talhīṣ*¹²⁵ *of parts of al-Ilāhīyāt of aṣ-Šifā'*

A table of correspondence between this *talhīṣ* and the *Ilāhīyāt* is provided in Appendix F. The attribution of these passages to Bahmanyār as a *talhīṣ* may be questioned. The possibility that Bahmanyār did make an extract of parts of the *Šifā'* is certainly conceivable, but we need not discount the possibility that this so-called *talhīṣ* is in fact a part of Ibn Sīnā's early draft of the *Šifā'*, i.e., what al-Ġūzḡānī refers to in his Biography as the "main topics" (*ruʿūs al-masā'il*) of the *Šifā'*.¹²⁶

III.C. MVIIe:820-843. *Ibn Zayla's talhīṣ (?)*, *and Responsa*

The earliest independent exemplar of this text has been described in Chapter One, Part Two, Section I.A.a.2 (2). The two titles found there suggest an

¹²⁴ See Gutas's translation, op. cit., pp. 66-72, which may be marginally improved by reference to MSS A and O which were unavailable to Gutas.

¹²⁵ Admittedly, the exemplars of this work do not entitle it a *talhīṣ* but it clearly is such, as the concordance of literal passages from the *Šifā'*: *al-Ilāhīyāt* make clear; see Appendix F.

¹²⁶ Gohlman, p. 58/59.

uncertainty as to the precise nature of the text. At the beginning of the text itself we find the title *Talḥiṣ li-š-šayḥ al-ḥakīm Abī Manṣūr li-ṣifāt wāğib al-wuğūd*. But the scribe of the exemplar also calls it *Risāla li-Abī Manṣūr ibn Zayla li-ṣifāt wāğib al-wuğūd* on the title page of the codex. It may be a *talḥiṣ* of some work by Ibn Sīnā, but this work has yet to be identified.¹²⁷ The fact that it was included in some recensions of the *Mubāḥaṭāt* is probably to be attributed to the two questions and responses attached to it. The first of these (825-6) is either a narrative account by Ibn Zayla of an oral teaching session with Ibn Sīnā, or a commentary on a written response sent to Ibn Zayla by Ibn Sīnā. The latter possibility is more likely, since the original question and response is extant in the *Mubāḥaṭāt* (867 is the original, 615 is a recensional duplicate of the response, and 825 is Ibn Zayla's commentary). The second question and response is found at 827. It is very important to note that the earliest independent exemplar of these passages as a whole appears to preserve the correct order for the composition. When the passages were incorporated into the *Mubāḥaṭāt*, the questions and responses were placed after the passages of Ibn Zayla's treatise to which they refer (details are given in Chapter One, Part Two, Section I.A.a.2 (2)).

III.D. *The Books of Buḍūr*

Bahmanyār and Ibn Sīnā refer on a number of occasions in their correspondence to what appears to be a text with the title *al-Buḍūr*, and in two manuscripts, viz. the Ṣignāḥī codex (MS C) and MS L2, passages from this text are identified by scribal notations. Here, the citations by Bahmanyār and Ibn Sīnā in the *Mubāḥaṭāt* are presented first, followed by the manuscript indicants of the *Buḍūr* passages.

III.D.a. *References in the Mubāḥaṭāt to the Buḍūr:*

III.D.a.1. MVc1:347. [Ibn Sīnā says:] "...because of what was said in the *Buḍūr*."¹²⁸

MVc2:360. [Bahmanyār says in follow-up question:] "A reference to the *Buḍūr* was made in these sections to [the issue at hand], but it was not stated there, or it was stated implicitly, not explicitly. It requires explanation here."

¹²⁷ Might it be part of Ibn Zayla's "papers" on the *Inṣāf*?

¹²⁸ *li-mā qīla fī l-buḍūr* corr. Reisman on the basis of 360 : *li-mā qīla fī l-baḍr* B, E : *ka-mā qīla fī l-x.z.ri* + *al-b.z.* super. ḥ. L1 : *ka-mā qīla fī l-b.z.ri* A : om. L2, C : *ka-mā qīla fī l-buzūr* Y. Bīdārfar's reference to *Kitāb an-Nabāt* of the Ṣifā has no bearing on the topic discussed in 347.

III.D.a.2. MVIa2:480. [Bahmanyār asks:] “It became evident in the *Budūr*¹²⁹ ...but three things were not explained....”

MVIa2:485. [Bahmanyār says:] “...for that was not stated in the *Budūr*.”¹³⁰

III.D.a.3. MVIf:847 (cf. 347). [Ibn Sīnā says:] “...which we mentioned in the *Budūr*.”¹³¹

III.D.a.4. *Al-Mulḥaq*:1013 (i.e., Badawī 95). [Ibn Sīnā says:] “...it has been explained in the *Budūr* and elsewhere...”

III.D.a.5. *Al-Mulḥaq*:1042 (i.e., Badawī 131). [Ibn Sīnā says:] “...it became evident in the *Budūr* and elsewhere...,” and “it became evident in the *Budūr*....”¹³²

III.D.a.6. Badawī 94.¹³³ [Ibn Sīnā says:] “...this can be learned from the section on the individual [or: individuation¹³⁴] in the *Books of Budūr*.”

The meaning of the term *budūr* in these testimonia presents certain interpretive problems. In its literal sense, *budūr* means seeds which have been sown, or scattered for sowing, and is also explained by the lexicographers as any plant which has emerged from the ground, or emerged from seeds (*ḥubūb*), i.e., what is called a “shoot” in English.¹³⁵ The context of the first three testimonia, the temperament and its generation, might suggest that *budūr* in those contexts does not refer to a text, but rather to the literal “seeds” of plants. However, a major factor arguing against this possibility is Bahmanyār’s reference in his follow-up question at 360: “a reference to the *Budūr* was

¹²⁹ *fī l-budūr* Y : *fī l-b.z.r* + : *mina l-b.zūr* super. *ḥ* L1 : *mina l-budūr* B, C, E : *fī l-b.rūr* A.

¹³⁰ *al-budūr* B, Y : *al-x.dūr* E : *al-b.rūr* A, L1 : om. 485 C.

¹³¹ *al-budūr* B, C (Badawī 105) : *al-x.dūd* A.

¹³² There are two other instances (statements by Ibn Sīnā), one of which parallels those given above (*wa-qad bāna fī l-budūr*), the other of which may actually relate to the subject matter (the growth of the human form from sperm), ...*alā tarīqi l-budūr* (for both, see Bīdārfar 327-8).

¹³³ Seven lines of text (Badawī, p. 143.17-22), including this final sentence, were omitted by Bīdārfar in his *al-Mulḥaq* (1012), presumably because part of it (that corresponding to Badawī, p. 143.17-22) is found as a quotation in a follow-up question by Bahmanyār in Bīdārfar’s 462. In MS C, the entire passage (i.e., all of 94) is repeated at ff. 107r.pen.-107v.11; this duplicate passage was not included in Badawī’s edition, not even in the form of variant readings in the critical apparatus (see Appendix A). This part of the Mubāḥaṭāt also circulated independently, and is the correspondence given the title *Li-kulli ḥayawān wa-nabāt ṭabāt* by Mahdavi (4y). Three exemplars of this independently circulating version were also consulted: Ayasofya 4853 and its descendants Nuruosmaniye 4894 and Miškāt 339 (see Chapter One, Part Two, Section I.A.c.2 (2)). These retain Ibn Sīnā’s final reference but read *kutub an-n.dūr* which, as will be seen, was the title taken up by the later bibliographers.

¹³⁴ *aš-šaḥṣ* L2 : *at-taṣaḥḥuṣ* twice in C (Badawī 94, and the unrecorded duplicate, f. 107v.11; see Appendix A).

¹³⁵ See *Lisān al-ʿarab* and *Tāğ al-ʿarūs*, s.vv.

made,” *fa-qad uḥīla bihī...ʿalā l-budūr*, literally, “[the issue] was passed on to the *Budūr*.”¹³⁶ And he continues: “it was not stated *there* or was stated implicitly, not explicitly. It requires explanation *here*.” The spatial reference *there* indicates that Bahmanyār is speaking of a particular *place* where the issue was discussed, contrasted with *here*, i.e., in the correspondence, where it needs to be discussed. The other three testimonia (4-6) reinforce the interpretation that a text is at issue, as none of them deal with the issue of generation.¹³⁷ Certainly, testimony (6) with its addition of “books” makes it more than clear that a text is being discussed.

In fact, we find quite a few indications in the manuscripts of the contents of this text called the *Budūr*. The references given below are complicated by the nature of the recensions in which they are found and the way in which those references have been treated by modern editors. The two primary manuscripts to contain parts of the *Budūr* are the Ṣignāḥī codex (MS C) and MS L2. The passages from the *Budūr* in MS L2 are somewhat easier to document than those of the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension, primarily because of the disordered state of the latter. References here will be to L2, folio:line numbers, followed by MS C, represented by Badawī’s edition and employing his paragraph numbers, and finally to Bīdārfar’s *al-Mulḥaq* which, though it purports to present the texts of those two manuscripts, has badly misrepresented them.

III.D.b. A Proof copied from the *Budūr*

- i. MS L2, 108r:1: “The proof that the intellecting faculty cannot be corporeal, copied (*taḥrīr*) from the *Budūr*.”¹³⁸
- ii. MS C, Badawī 107 (Bīdārfar 1022¹³⁹), where this header has become: “Two Eastern proofs that the intellecting faculty cannot be a body.”

The testimony in its redacted (?) form, i.e., that found in MS C (Badawī 107), has caused some problems with previous interpretations, because in that exemplar the passages which follow it have no bearing on the subject.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ Compare Ibn Sīnā’s usage in his commentary on Ps.-Aristotle’s *Theology* from the *Inṣāf* (ed. Badawī, p. 43.9-10): *al-ḡawābu ʿan dālīka iḥālatun ʿalā l-ḥikmati l-mašriqīyati*, “the response to that is to pass [it] on to the eastern philosophy,” i.e., it will be, or has been, dealt with in the eastern philosophy.

¹³⁷ The context of testimony (4) is the issue of whether faculties must always be *in actu*, and the fact that corporeal faculties are imprinted in matter. The context of testimony (5) concerns continuous movement from an infinite power. The context of (6) concerns individuation of souls through matter.

¹³⁸ “copied from the *Budūr*,” *taḥrīr* [*al-burhān*]...*min al-Budūr*. For this meaning of *taḥrīr*, i.e., to copy something from an archetype or draft, see Gutas, *Avicenna*, p. 40, and n. g, and H. F. Amedroz’s *The Historical Remains of Hilāl al-Sābi*, p. 59, with further references.

¹³⁹ Bīdārfar did not record the variants from L2 in his critical apparatus.

¹⁴⁰ Gutas, op. cit., p. 116, observed, “This is all that is extant in the *Discussions*.”

But in MS L2, the passages that follow present a proof for the incorporeality of the intellecting faculty on the basis of the nature of the intelligible. These passages are found in Badawī 97-104, Bīdārfar 1014-1021. It is impossible to determine what was the intention of the recensor when he altered the header, extant in its original form and with accompanying text in L2, to include reference to two “eastern” proofs and to omit the reference to the *Budūr*. But based on the testimony of L2, we can observe that what is found there is a transcription of passages from the *Budūr*. The use of the verbal noun *tahrīr* to express this transcription may suggest that the passages in the *Budūr* were in draft form, i.e., were not in clean copy.

III.D.c. *Passages on Individuation from the Budūr*

In testimony (6) above, Ibn Sīnā refers his interlocutor to the “section on the individual in the *Books of Budūr*.” This section, or part of it (?), is extant in MSS C and L2. At L2, f. 117v.18, we find the header “scattered seeds” (*budūr*¹⁴¹ *mutafarriqa*), introducing a series of passages dealing with the concept of individuality and individuation. These passages, or most of them, are found twice in MS C: Badawī 135-166 (see Bīdārfar 1044-1072), and duplicates of 146-166 on folios 104r.5-105r.6 (omitted by Badawī).

III.D.d. *Budūr in [Ibn Sīnā’s] hand*

At L2, f. 116.3, we find the header “seeds, in his handwriting,” *bi-ḥaṭṭihī budūrun*, followed by a series of passages. These passages are found in duplicate in MS C, once without the header (115), and once with a different version of the header (385), viz. “seeds, from his handwriting,” *min ḥaṭṭihī budūrun*. The relevant passages are found in full in Badawī 115-130 (Bīdārfar 1024-1041¹⁴²), duplicates 385-403. The order of the passages in L2 differs from the duplicate passages in MS C [following Badawī’s paragraph numbers, (in duplicate)]: 115-118 (385-386), 122-125 (390-398), 119-121 (387-389), 126-130 (399-403).

III.D.e. *A Detached Rubric*

The final reference to *Budūr* is problematic. At L2, f. 117.4, we find the header “after some *budūr* which belong in this place,” *baʿda budūrin taḥuṣṣu hādā l-mawḍiʿ*.¹⁴³ The passages following this header cannot be *budūr*, since Ibn Sīnā makes reference to the *budūr* in them (see testimony [5] above).

¹⁴¹ *x.dūr* L2 : *n.dūr* read. Bīdārfar, p. 337 n. 130.

¹⁴² Bīdārfar did not collate 115-130 with 385-403 and he neglected to record the header from either L2 or C (duplicate passage 385).

¹⁴³ *baʿda budūrin taḥuṣṣu hādā l-mawḍiʿ* read Reisman : *baʿda x.dūr t.ḥ.ṣ hādā l-mawḍiʿ* L2 : *nudūr yaḥuṣṣu* (?) *hādā l-mawḍiʿ* read Bīdārfar, p. 335, n. 112. The reading suggested here is by no means certain; we might also read *baʿda budūrin yaḥuṣṣu hādā l-mawḍiʿ*, “after some *budūr*, he (i.e., Ibn Sīnā) makes especial mention of this passage.”

The statement must mean that more passages from the *Budūr* (note that this statement comes after the last group of passages of *budūr* treated in D.d.) were found at that point in the manuscript, but were left out, i.e., we are to understand “after some *budūr* which belong in this place, [we find:]...,” but this remains open to conjecture.

The term *budūr*, i.e., seeds or sprouts, in these contexts is clearly metaphorical, although there is no doubt that it refers to a text, since the references by Bahmanyār and Ibn Sīnā are clearly to a text, and the rubrics of MSS C and L2 clearly introduce passages from that text. We might understand the term to mean “fragments,” or philosophical “jottings.” In this case, we may understand the reference to books of *budūr* to be to notebooks in which Ibn Sīnā wrote down brief statements and proofs, perhaps for use in other compositions. At any rate, the scribe of MS L2 was correct to separate these *budūr* from the recension of the Mubāḥaṭāt that he copied. After his description of the Mubāḥaṭāt on the title page, he notes: “and connected to it there were found questions and answers and notes (*taʿlīqāt*) and *budūr* which resemble that.” We may trace their inclusion in the Mubāḥaṭāt to the disordered state of the papers inherited by aṣ-Ṣignāḥī. The title actually appears to have survived long enough to be included in the later bibliographies of Ibn Sīnā’s works, descriptively referred to as “topics called *Budūr*, *al-masāʾil tudʿā l-Budūr*.¹⁴⁴

III.E. [Letter to Kiyā]

The extant exemplars of this letter have been described at length in Chapter One, Part Two, Section I.B.c, and the arguments against the identification of the recipient as Bahmanyār detailed in Chapter Three, Section II.B.a. The letter clearly belongs to another correspondence Ibn Sīnā engaged in with an individual other than any of the known participants of the Mubāḥaṭāt. It was included in the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension of the Mubāḥaṭāt only. It most likely does not belong to the Mubāḥaṭāt.

¹⁴⁴ See Gohlman, p. 108/109. The readings recorded by Gohlman reflect the uncertainty about the title of the work; Gohlman selected *an-Nudūr*, which he translated as “Rarities.” However, *nudūr* is not a plural form of *nādīra*, “rarity” (or better “pithy saying”) which presumably is what Gohlman intended. It is a verbal noun form for *nadara*, to be rare, but this is not a viable interpretation of what is meant in the bibliography.

EPILOGUE

EDITING THE MUBĀḤAṬĀT

The conclusions of the preceding study should make it very clear that future research on Ibn Sīnā and the survival of his corpus will require an entirely new approach and methodology. Such an alarum was rung nearly thirteen years ago, with the publication of Dimitri Gutas's *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, in which it was noted that "the study of Arabic-writing philosophers...has been consistently hampered by a general lack of *historical investigations preceding and establishing the boundaries* of normative evaluations" (p. 5). While it is undeniable that serious scholarship has been undertaken on Ibn Sīnā, the unfortunate fact alluded to in the above statement is nonetheless still a defining characteristic of Ibn Sīnā studies. Research directed toward the elucidation of the historical context in which Ibn Sīnā lived and worked and the establishment of a critically prepared corpus of his writings remains in its infancy. The absence of such research into the historical context of Ibn Sīnā's intellectual development has led to the generation of wholly theoretical parameters of investigation and, in some cases, widely held misapprehensions, that lack any verification from the corpus itself. Such an approach to the study of Ibn Sīnā's legacy is nowhere more keenly felt than in the fact that none of his major works, including the Mubāḥaṭāt, is at present available in a truly critical edition.

That said, the preceding study should also be an indication of the very serious obstacles to be surmounted in the inauguration of the new methodology. It is to be hoped that not all of Ibn Sīnā's works will require such an intensive degree of research into the manuscripts, recensions, and textual transmission that was necessary for the Mubāḥaṭāt. But the testimonies from Ibn Sīnā, his associates and students concerning the state and transmission of his written legacy, outlined in Chapter One, Part One, should prepare scholars for the worst. The price to be paid for not engaging in such background research is apparent in the published versions of the Mubāḥaṭāt, despite the best editorial efforts of ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān Badawī and Muḥsin Bīdārfar.

The nature of the Mubāḥaṭāt as a *private* correspondence is undoubtedly the source of the complexities associated with its transmission. These letters and texts represent the private activity of a number of scholars (Ibn Sīnā, Ibn Zayla, Bahmanyār, and Abū l-Qāsim) engaged in philosophical investigation. Thus, at the time of their composition, no single authorial intention

was exercised upon their construction,¹ and no goal of widespread distribution of them was conceived. These basic facts meant not only that the transmission of the various parts of the correspondence would be haphazard (viz. independently transmitted fascicles, collections of various parts, topical arrangement, etc.) but also that any *post facto* editorial approach to them was evidently conceivable, if not always legitimate. This accounts for the variety apparent in the textual transmission: Bahmanyār's early recension of some of the texts, the different stages of collection (in the other three Earlier Recensions), the removal of historical context and personalities apparent in the "deconstruction experiment" found in the Ṣignāhī Codex Recension, the restructuring of contents according to genre typology in the Later Recension. It also accounts for the instability discernible in the very titles of the various transmissions: Bahmanyār's "at-Taḥṣīlāt," the intermediate shift from "al-Mabāḥiṭ" to "al-Mubāḥaṭāt," titles which were constructed from stray remarks and characterizations of the philosophical activity that went into the composition of the correspondence, as well as purely scribal creations such as "al-As'ila" and the like. The haphazard transmission process also allowed for the appropriation of parts of the correspondence for other projects, e.g., the forged Ibn Sīnā—Abū Sa'īd Correspondence, with its attendant false citations of the title Kitāb al-Mubāḥaṭāt.

The story of this transmission is in itself fascinating, and collecting the evidence for it can obviously accommodate much larger conclusions about the professional pursuit of medieval Arabic-Islamic philosophy, about notions of orality and textuality in the medieval transmission of knowledge, about the social and political context in which medieval learning occurred, and so on. The overriding goal of the foregoing study, however, is much more prosaic. It is the answer to the question: on the basis of the extant internal and external textual evidence, how is one to edit the Mubāḥaṭāt in a way that not only is faithful to the historically sequential activity of the philosophical discussions engaged in by the participants, but also allows modern scholars to make use of those discussions in plotting the developments in the thought of these medieval philosophers? In what follows, I will present a provisional outline of how the problems associated with editing the Mubāḥaṭāt may be approached. I cannot emphasize enough the provisional nature of these remarks; they are based upon what appears to be a viable theory of transmission, but they remain to be verified in all instances through a complete collation of the extant exemplars.²

¹ Obviously, there were individual authorial intentions in the composition of discrete parts of the correspondence—Bahmanyār and Ibn Zayla clearly had aims in the formulation of their philosophical questions and Ibn Sīnā clearly had specific goals in writing his letters to them—but there was no united intention concerning the correspondence as a whole.

² Discussions with Dimitri Gutas and his solutions to specific technical issues have proved invaluable to the working theory presented here.

Bahmanyār gave us a partial response to our question; it has been determined that his early recension of some of the texts, extant in MS E, is partially structured according to the historical progression of questions and responses. Identifying that early recension and recognizing its historical structure proves enormously useful to the larger goal of editing, but it is not without problems. Clearly, that recension does not contain all of the texts associated with the philosophical program that became the Mubāḥaṭāt—this is evident from the contents of the other recensions, both Earlier and Later. Furthermore, the very corrupt state of the extant exemplar of that recension (MS E) makes impossible its use as a base text (*aṣl*) for even those parts that it does contain. In grappling with these problems, we can begin by noting that it is only the texts MIVb-MVa-MI-MVb-MII-MVc-MIII that appear to follow the correct historical sequence in Bahmanyār's Recension and the other Earlier Recensions. The three other Earlier Recensions, in MSS Y, L1, and A, which reflect this order, are more carefully preserved. So the first step will be to determine the relative value of the readings in these exemplars and then select a base text. However, because we are dealing with different recensions, it will be necessary to present the readings of the manuscripts in a way that distinguishes their origin. This can be accommodated by a record of *recensional* variants in the apparatus. In the case of serious complications, the division of recensional variants could also include variants from different *manuscripts* of a given recension. This approach may seem overly cautious, but it is the only means to ensure that contamination among recensions does not result, as it did in Bīdārfar's edition. Thus, even the (very valuable) manuscript B of the Later Recension can be drawn upon in reconstructing the original text for these portions of the Mubāḥaṭāt, because the *recensional* origin of the variant readings will be clearly demarcated.

However, this approach is promising only for a part of the entire collection of texts. The internal disorder (i.e., the lack of logical sequence) of the questions and responses in MVIa2 to MVIf in *all* of the recensions requires that the editor of the Mubāḥaṭāt place a premium on the *restoration of the original sequential integrity*. An example of restoring the original sequence to the questions and responses was outlined in Chapter Four, Section II.K.c.1, but it is of the simplest kind; by identifying the terms or phrases used in one of Ibn Sīnā's responses which then became the focus of an ensuing question, we can reconstruct the sequence of some of the questions and responses. Temporal indications in both questions and responses can also help here, but our correspondents were not always so candid. Very careful reading of all extant portions of the Mubāḥaṭāt will be needed to plot the sequence of more subtly developing themes and issues.

An additional consideration is that while we may be able to plot the sequence of the discussions on a given theme, we may never be able to

correctly group all of the questions and responses together in a way that reflected their original composition and receipt. Simply put, we know that Bahmanyār regularly sent Ibn Sīnā *in one writing* numerous questions dealing with different philosophical problems. These are grouped together nicely in MIVb, for example. But once the order breaks down in MVIa2 to MVIf, we no longer have any means of knowing which questions were sent *together* to Ibn Sīnā. The techniques of traditional critical editing break down at this point. But it is precisely at this juncture that the organization of the texts becomes of paramount importance to modern scholars; a serious impediment to future scholarship will arise if every scholar who approaches the Mubāḥaṭāt has to navigate his way through a jumble of questions and responses in search of a given theme. It may prove necessary to identify individual sequences of questions and responses on a given theme and group them together, if only in these later parts of the Mubāḥaṭāt. This would seem to be a just compromise between the two stated editorial goals.

As if these impediments were not enough, the analysis in Chapter Four highlighted a number of other problems that will have to be addressed in the critical edition. First, it is to be noted that the letters which exist in the Later Recension but not in the Earlier Recensions (viz. MVIa1, MV Ib1) must be accommodated within the larger historical sequence of the Earlier Recension, since their placement in the Later Recension is (historically) incorrect. A few proposals about where these might be inserted have been outlined above. Second, it has been noted that at one stage of the correspondence, Bahmanyār was forced to send out a set of questions which, while not literal duplicates of earlier questions, addressed the same issues again in different language (see for example Chapter Four, Sections II.G.a.3 and II.H.b). All of these will have to be identified and grouped together. Third, the analysis of the sequence of texts in the Earlier Recensions led to the hypothesis of certain “lost letters” (see Chapter Four, Sections II.E.a.1, II.F.a.2, and Table 7). These may in fact be lost, or they may exist, at least in part, in other recensions. A minor example of this contention may be made with regard to the posited lost letter between MIVb and MVa. It is to be noted that in MVa we find Ibn Sīnā citing statements or arguments from his interlocutors, none of which are found in MIVb. In MVa:229, we find the interlocutors’ allusion to a preceding “ḥadīṭ” from Ibn Sīnā. This *ḥadīṭ* we can identify with Ibn Sīnā’s response at 772 (cf. 743); and this identification allows us to posit that 772, at least, probably formed part of the correspondence falling between MIVb and MVa. Thus, the evaluation of the questions and responses in the disordered later parts of the Mubāḥaṭāt leads to the reconstruction of the larger sequence of the discussions as a whole, using the order of the Earlier Recensions as the basis for further refinement. Finally, it has become clear that there are also texts which appear in only some

recensions or do not appear in any of the recensions of the Mubāḥaṭāt, but which clearly are a part of the discussions (e.g., the so-called *Li-kull ḥayawān wa-nabāt ṭabāt* [see Chapter One, Section I.A.c.W2.b] and the so-called *al-Muʿāwada* [see Chapter Two, Section IV.A.b] respectively). While a viable interpretation for the specific circumstances that led to their exclusion has yet to be formulated, the underlying hypothesis that the transmission of the Mubāḥaṭāt texts was a haphazard one serves as sufficient justification for an attempt to reintegrate them into the sequence.

In light of these considerations, it is no undue exaggeration to state that the critical editing of the Mubāḥaṭāt will have to proceed slowly and cautiously. The first step will require careful reading and analysis of all extant texts to determine the original sequence of the discussions. The second step will involve a preference for the readings of the Earlier Recensions in general and a determination of the most reliable exemplar within that group to serve as a base text. The Later Recension must play a role in the reconstruction of the original texts, but we can safeguard against recensional contamination by devising appropriate critical apparatuses. Finally, there is no doubt that collation of exemplars within recensions will introduce further complexity, but this also will not present an insurmountable barrier. First, as always, we must read.

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APPENDIX A

NOTES ON CAIRO HIKMA 6M (MS C)

I. REPEAT PASSAGES IN MS C(AIRO HIKMA 6M), ACCORDING TO BADAWĪ'S PARAGRAPH ENUMERATION

The nature of the Şignāhī Codex Recension as an uncompleted re-editing of Mubāḥaṭāt materials and other texts is best characterized by the presence of duplicate and triplicate versions of text. This agglomeration of passages is to be explained by the fact that in most cases both the original versions of the text as well as their edited versions remained gathered together in some unknown form (perhaps as fascicles or scraps of paper) at the time that aṣ-Şignāhī compiled his codex. Badawī included some but not all of this duplicate material in his edition of the Şignāhī Codex Recension; in other instances he simply left the duplicate material out of his edition. And in both cases, he only occasionally indicated what he had done. In the two tables below, concordances of these duplicate passages are assembled. In the first table (A), repeat passages of Mubāḥaṭāt passages are presented. In the second table (B), repeat passages from a work referred to by Ibn Sīnā and Bahmanyār as *al-Budūr*, are assembled. This second set of repeat passages does not form a part of the Mubāḥaṭāt, i.e., the passages are not a part of the correspondence between Ibn Sīnā, Bahmanyār, Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī, and Ibn Zayla. The precise identity of the so-called *Budūr* remains to be established; for further details, see Chapter Four. The identification of the repeat passages in MS C is not always exact, because of the nature of the medieval editing process that was undertaken in that recension. Below, I indicate imprecise, or rather incomplete, identification by the term “part.” This means that only part of a given passage has equivalence with its duplicate. Note also that the paragraph numbers 167b-168b should in fact be numbered 267-268, but Badawī's 1947 edition of the Şignāhī codex contains the typographical error 167-168 for those paragraphs (see page 173).

A. Duplicate Passages of the Mubāḥaṭāt in MS C, edited by Badawī

Repeat Passages in Badawī		Repeat Passages in Badawī	
1	338	44part	418
3	339	45	285
4	326	53	348R
5	327	54	422R
6	413	55	424
7	412	56	425
8	411	60	323-324
9	410	61	429part
11	407	62-3	428
12	167b-168b	64	431
13	301	66	429part
18	363	69	451part
23	310	70	384
24	310	72	325R
25	302	73-4	408
28	311	96, 134	289
29	480	110	378
30	482	111	379
32	317	112	421
37	59, 318	189	417part
39	454		

B. Duplicate Passages of the Budūr in MS C, edited by Badawī

Repeat Passages in Badawī	
115-117	385
118	386
119	387
120	388
121	389
122	390-1
123	392-6
124	397
125	397-8
126	399
127	400
128	401
129	402
130	403
146-166	om. doublets in Badawī

II. PASSAGES PRESENT IN MS C BUT OMITTED IN BADAWĪ’S EDITION

The following passages were omitted in Badawī’s edition of the Ṣignāhī Codex Recension of the Mubāḥaṭāt, presumably because they are duplicates and in some cases triplicates of other passages found in this recension. Gutas (“Avicenna’s Library,” p. 12) first noted Badawī’s omissions and provided a general inventory. Here I collate the omitted duplicates with their counterparts in Badawī’s edition. Where the passages have closer affinity to the original text in the posited Earlier Recension from which the Ṣignāhī Codex Recension ultimately derives, I collate the passages omitted by Badawī with the text of Bīdārfar’s edition of the Later Recension (this is especially the case with number 4 below; in these cases I place Badawī’s paragraph numbers in square brackets). Because Bīdārfar also used Earlier Recensions in his edition of the Later Recension, in most cases the reader can determine the text of the Earlier Recension from Bīdārfar’s rudimentary apparatus. This procedure must suffice until such time as the Earlier Recension is edited.

The headings of each part contain: the folio numbers where the duplicates are found in MS C; the location in Badawī’s text where they should be; and the numbers of their counterparts following Badawī’s numbers. The variants

then follow, with the abbreviations Ba(dawī), Bī(dārfar), C(airo, *ḥikma* 6M). The page.line numbers preceding the variants lists refer to the counterparts in Badawī or Bīdārfar (when Bīdārfar's pagination is used I make this explicit).

1. 104r.5-105r.6, between Badawī 425 and 426, 146-166.¹

151.11. تحيز بيتين Ba : تحيزيتين C.

151.12. تلك Ba : om. C.

151.13. الشخص Ba : الشخصى C.

151.14. قد يقع Ba : يقع add. C.

151.22. لم يكن Ba : لا يكون C.

151.23. بحاله Ba : حاله C.

152.1. الفعل Ba : العقل C.

152.2. الشخصية Ba : شخصه C.

152.9. لها Ba : له C || لايجوز Ba : لايجوز add. C.

152.10. شىء Ba : شيئاً C || لانها Ba : لانهما C.

152.12. الاقل والاكثر Ba : الاكثر والاقل C.

152.22-3. فإن Ba : بأن C || شىء بدون العلة Ba : شىء. العلة C.

153.2. وجود Ba : وجود C || فى زوال Ba : وأول C.

153.7. كل جسم Ba : جسم add. C.

153.10. المتعول العلة Ba : العلة add. C.

153.13. كان Ba : يكون C.

153.16. يقنیهما Ba : يقتسمهما C

153.18. المتشخصة Ba : om. C.

153.19. المقارنة للاعراض Ba : مقارنة الاعراض C.

153.23. فيكون فكيف Ba : فكيف add. C.

154.2. مضر Ba : معتبر C.

154.3. لم يمنع Ba : لايمنع C.

154.7. منها Ba : فيها C.

¹ Badawī, p. 222, n. 1, incorrectly numbered the counterparts as 146-167; Gutas, op. cit., corrected this to 146-166. Bīdārfar reproduced these paragraphs from Badawī's edition in his *Mulḥaq*, 1053-1072. Note that these passages are part of the so-called *Buḍūr* and not an original part of the *Mubāḥaṭāt*; see the discussion in Chapter Four, Section III.D.

- 154.9. سئل ما البرهان على أن مخرج العقل من القوة الى : Ba مخرج. 154.9. C. add. الفعل عقل بالفعل فأجاب فتشخصه بلازم الماهية
- 154.10. C. فتشخصه بلازم الماهية : Ba بتشخصه اللازم للماهية.
- 154.11. C. فكان : Ba لكان C || المحصل : Ba محصل.
- 154.12. C. ذاتنا : Ba ذاتها.
2. 107r.pen.-107v.14; between Badawī 458 and 459; 94, 105-106
- 143.4. C. سئل أيضاً عن : Ba ما.
- 143.5-6. C. فقال : Ba وأن – الآخر.
- 143.7. C. ييت : Ba يصب C || om. Ba فيكون.
- 143.10. C. شخصه : Ba شخصيه.
- 143.14. C. وليس : Ba فليس.
- 143.20. C. يجتمع : Ba يجمع.
- 143.21. C. الاحوال : Ba الادراك.
- 143.22. C || Ba من C فشخصيه تميز : Ba تشخصه وتميزه.
- C. من وجهين : Ba ووجهان.
- 145.5. add. المزاج فقال : Ba المزاج : -- C || add. سئل عن : Ba البرهان.
- C.
- 145.6. C. قلبه : Ba مثله.
3. 111r.11-111v.4; between Badawī page 245.ult. and page 246.1; 458
- 228.12. Ba : om. C. فصل من كلامه.
- 228.15. C. إذا : Ba إذ.
- 228.16. C. متحد : Ba يتحد.
- 228.18. C. وأكثر : Ba فأكثر منها.
- 228.20. C. التناهي : Ba النامي.
- 228.22. C. الصورة : Ba للصورة.
4. 112v.11-113v.15; after Badawī page 249.10 (i.e., immediately after Ibn Sīnā's *ʿAhd*); Badawī does not specify the counterpart passages for these duplicates. This is because these duplicates actually do not have counterparts elsewhere in MS C, or at least some of them do not. I add introductions below to explain these complexities. In brackets are the counterpart passages where those passages have been identified; reference is also made to Bīdārfar's edition of the Later Recension in MS B, particularly where the duplicates

are more readily comparable with that Recension than with the counterparts of MS C.

4.a. This duplicate contains two questions and responses; [Badawī 10] omits both questions and displays extensive editing in the two responses. The duplicate omitted by Badawī actually more closely reflects the Later Recension of the Mubāḥaṭāt found in MS B (Bīdārfar 487-491). For this reason, the duplicate has been compared to MS B.² Two general observations that emerge from a collation of the duplicate in MS C with the text of the recension in MS B are as follows. The recension in MS B does not properly identify the text found at Bīdārfar 490-491 as a question, whereas MS C does. The duplicate in MS C lacks both the marginal gloss common to MSS B, Y, A, L1, and E, and the marginal gloss found only in MSS Y, A, L1, E.³ It might also be noted that these questions and responses in MS B lack the abbreviation “ṭ” which in that MS indicates that the text was transcribed (at some unspecified remove) from the holographs of the questioner and respondent.

171.2 C. سؤال : Bī س

171.3. C. الجواب : Bī ج

171.11. C. فيما : Bī مما

171.14. add. C. سؤال هذا الجواب : Bī هذا الجواب

172.7. C. marg. Bī انه || C الجواب : Bī ج

172.9. add. C. المقدمة والاجزى : Bī المقدمة

4.b. [Badawī 28] and [Badawī 311], cf. Bīdārfar 555-556. Thus, including this omitted passage, there are three passages in MS C that contain the same material. The triplicate omitted by Badawī agrees almost entirely with [Badawī 311], the sole variant between the two being a very minor change (185.19. C. سؤال : Ba سئل). [Badawī 28] displays more substantive variants against [Badawī 311] and the omitted duplicate. The latter two also most closely reflect the text found in MS B (Bīdārfar 555-6), which is introduced with the abbreviation *s ṭ*. The *sīn* there stands for *suʿāl*, as we are told in the Scribal Note introducing the recension found in MS B. It is thus worth suggesting that the triplicate in MS C and the text in MS B derive from the same copy, and that [Badawī 311] is a derived copy. [Badawī 28] is an edited version of the material.

² The references in the following collations are to Bīdārfar's edition, but his text has been checked in each instance against the readings of MS B (odleian Hunt. 534).

³ See Bīdārfar, p. 171, n. 308, and p. 172, n. 315.

4.c. This duplicate does not actually have a counterpart in Badawī's edition,⁴ although the subject matter treated is that of Badawī 7/412 and 481. It is, however, to be found in the Later Recension of MS B (see Bīdārfar 553-4), and so is collated with Bīdārfar's edition here.

186.7. C. سؤال : Bī س ط ثم.

186.9. C. الجواب : Bī ج ط.

186.10. C. لا يحرك : Bī يحرك.

4.d. This passage is found in two other heavily edited versions in [Badawī 24] and [Badawī 310]. In the latter number, the question and response appears to have been integrated with another question and response (cf. Badawī 23/310). Again, we find that the duplicate version is more closely comparable to the text in MS B (see Bīdārfar 542-544) and so those two are collated here. However, there are enough variants separating the two to suggest a closer affinity with one of the Earlier Recensions, rather than the Later Recension in MS B. Note that the question and response in MS B is not preceded by the abbreviations *s ṭ/ ḡ ṭ*; this suggests that it was made from a clean copy and not from the original hands of Ibn Sīnā and Bahmanyār. In the MS C duplicate we find *as-su'āl* and *al-ḡawāb* introducing the respective parts.

183.13-14. C. باقية مع تغير : Bī ثابتة بوضع تغير.

184.1. add. C. ليس إنما : Bī إنما.

184.2. C. من : Bī فيه || add. C. الشئ لقبول : Bī لقبول.

184.2. ماهيته بل إنما تهيو لان يكون مفارق غير مادي : Bī ماهيته
add. C. البته.

184.2-3. كان منسوب الاستحقاق أى : Bī كانت منسوبة الاستحقاق
add. C. المادة.

184.3. C. بعدها : Bī بعده.

184.4. add. C. أى المفارق أى مفارق : Bī مقبولة || C. يفعل : Bī يكفى.

4.e. A reworked version of this duplicate is found in [Badawī 302], with another version of the response in [Badawī 25]. Again, the text of the duplicate is more closely comparable to the recension of MS B and so is

⁴ Even according to Badawī's decision to omit duplicate passages, this passage should not, thus, have been omitted.

collated here with Bīdārfar 545 (there we also find the scribal additions indicating copying from the hands of Ibn Sīnā and Bahmanyār at an unspecified remove).

184.14. C. محالان : B محال.

4.f. The counterpart of this duplicate is found in [Badawī 309], but lacks the conclusion of the response. A closer parallel is Bīdārfar 529-530, collated here.⁵

181.3. C. سؤال : Bī س ط.

181.5. C. الجواب : Bī ج ط.

181.8. C. فى كل ذلك : Bī فى ذلك كل ذلك.

181.9. C. يعنى : Bī لمعنى.

4.g. See [Badawī 21] and [Badawī 308] and the more closely comparable version in Bīdārfar 531-532, collated here.

181.10. C. سؤال : Bī س ط.

181.11. C. الجواب : Bī ج ط.

181.12. Ba. 308). Bī and C : (cf. بكون بعرض).

4.h. This duplicate more closely resembles [Badawī 304] than the version in MS B (Bīdārfar 533-534), with the sole variant in the former case being C. سؤال : Ba وسئل.

4.i. See [Badawī 22] and the more closely comparable version in Bīdārfar 535-6, collated here.

182.3. C. سؤال : Bī س ط.

182.6. C. الجواب : Bī ج ط.

4.j. This is a triplicate of [Badawī 45] and [Badawī 285], although neither of those two versions contains as much text as the triplicate. The triplicate is more readily comparable to Bīdārfar 422-424, but not completely so (page and line numbers are to Bīdārfar).

154.10. Bī : om. C. بحيث.

154.13. Bī : om. C. تجويز - بأشياء.

154.15. C. فضل : Bī فضل مفضل.

⁵ However, MS C shares one substantive variant with MS Y against MS B; see 181.8 below.

154.16. فقد Bī : om. C.

155.1. الشئىء Bī : الشئىء C.

155.4. لايجب Bī : ما يحسب C.

155.7. عوائقه تماماً Bī : عوائقه add. C.

The passage in MS C concludes with the short phrase from Bīdārfar 425, scil. بعض الماهيات هى لغيرها but this is presented as the conclusion of the passage as a whole, and not as the beginning of a new passage. Perhaps the phrase came at the end of a folio of a fascicle which was later separated from the remaining folios.

4.k. This is not a duplicate and has no counterpart in Badawī's edition. It is the introductory section of Letter MIII, other parts of which are found elsewhere in MS C. It is collated here with MS B (Bīdārfar 47-49). The section in MS C concludes at Bīdārfar, p. 56.4 with *min al-aḥd ʿalayya*.

55.3. كتاب وصل كتاب Bī : وصل خطاب C.

55.5. شكرنى تكرّر Bī : شكرنى C.

55.10. امتعاض Bī : امتعاض C.

56.3. فليس Bī : ليس C || Bī : om. C

5. 115v.17-116r.1; between Badawī 498 and 499; Badawī notes (p. 239, n. 1) that this passage is a duplicate of his number 152, but this should be corrected to 52. (Compare Bīdārfar 431-2.)

157.6. مستحيل Bī : يستحيل C.

157.10. إذا Bī : إن C.

APPENDIX B

CONCORDANCE OF THE EDITIONS OF BĪDĀRFAR AND BADAWĪ

The purpose of the following table is two-fold. First, it will allow for detailed comparative textual analyses of the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension, i.e., MS C, as edited by Badawī, and the Later Recension, i.e., MS B, as edited by Bīdārfar. Second, it provides a general framework for the study of the medieval editing process observed in the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension through comparison of that edited text with at least one form of the original text (i.e., that of the Later Recension but also, with the aid of Bīdārfar’s rudimentary apparatus, with two of the Earlier Recensions, i.e. MSS L1 and Y). On the basis of the hypothesis that the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension ultimately goes back to one of the Earlier Recensions, it would be more ideal to compare the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension with the various Earlier Recensions, but that will have to await the editing and publication of the Earlier Recension.

Some explanation of the presentation of the material in the table is required. The order of the table proceeds from the first two column cells on the left to their end (across pages) and then rightward to the next pair of column cells (Bīdārfar—Badawī). The numbers refer to the paragraph numbers of the editions of Bīdārfar and Badawī. More properly, these are passage numbers, since these passages occasionally contain multiple paragraphs (here represented by “a” and “b”). Where there are duplicate passages (representing different versions of the text) in Bīdārfar’s edition or, more commonly, in Badawī’s edition, the duplicate passages are provided and are separated by a solidus (/).

“Part” means that only part of the passage of one edition corresponds to the passage of the other edition (it is thus a rough guide but sufficient for identifying common passages). “Q” abbreviates “Question;” “R” abbreviates “Response;” “om.” stands for “omitted in;” “rep.” for “repeated in.”

Concordance of the Editions of Bīdārfar and Badawī									
Bīdārfar	Badawī	Bīdārfar	Badawī	Bīdārfar	Badawī	Bīdārfar	Badawī	Bīdārfar	Badawī
MI (1-31)	pp. 240-244.	333	83	557-8	480/29	677	190	855	473
10-12 12	451 69	334	84	559-60	479	679	272	856	474
14-15	287	335-337	85	561-64	482/30-483	671-672	275	857	475
16	288	338-9	90	565	481	683-684	279	858	476
20-22	452	340-1	91	568-578	484	693-695	280, 276	859	477
MII (32-46)	p.245, om. part., rep. 458, p. 246	342	92	586-588	351	707-709	43	860	478
MIII (47-126)		345-6	87-8	589-590	71	717	404	861Q 861R	96/289 134/289
60-65part	370	347	89	591-593	352	718	405	862	290a
66-68	380	353part	86	594	356	719	406	863	291
70-72	381	361	93	595	359	720	318	864-866	294
92	429part	MVIa2		597-598	362	721Q,R 721R	325 72	867	297
94	430part	400part, 403	453	599-601	364	723Q,R 723R	410 9	868	298
100-102	64/431	404part, 405	282	602-606	365	724R	411/8	869	299

Bīdārfar	Badawī	Bīdārfar	Badawī	Bīdārfar	Badawī	Bīdārfar	Badawī	Bīdārfar	Badawī
107-112	467part	404part, 406part	283	607-610	368	725Q, R	412/7	870	290b
117-119	321	404part, 408-411	284	611-612	269	726Q, R	413/6	871	303
120-126	322	419	286	613-614	295-296	727-730 728-730	417Q,R 189R	872	304
MIVb (142-209)		422- 423	285/45 285	615	See 867	731	15	873	309
142-147	455	425	48	616	307	732-733	16	874	312
148-149	456	426-432	49-52	617-619	328	734 735-6 (1139)	17 18/363	875	319
150-154	457	433-4 434	348 53	620-622	329	737	460	876	333b
196-199	415	435-7 436-7	422 54	623-624	330	739	462	877	337
200-202	416	438-442 440-442	423-4 54	625	331	744Q	110part	878Q,R 878R	339 3
203-207	414	444-446 446	425 56	626	332	745-746	191/333a	879	344
MVa-c		454-5	407/11	627-628	340-342	749	313	880	345
210-211	68	456-460	39/454	629-630	343	750	31	881	346
212-215	176	462	94part	631	347	751	32/317	882	353
217-219	428 (62-63)	464, 466-7 466-7	323 60part	632	350	752Q,R 752R	326 4	883	355

Bīdārfar	Badawī	Bīdārfar	Badawī	Bīdārfar	Badawī	Bīdārfar	Badawī	Bīdārfar	Badawī
220-221	66, 61/429part	468-474 471-4	324 60part	633	252part	753Q,R 753R	327 5	884	360b
223	430part	475-479 475, 477-8	408 73, 74	634	253part	765	314-315	885	366
234-238	467part	480-483	334-335	635	250-251	766	338/1	886	373
246-7	177	488-9, 492	10	636	247-248	767R	2	887	378/110part
252-255	468	493	58	637	255	771	215-216	888	379/111part
256-7	461	494-5	349	638	256	772	212-213part	889/776	409
267-9	383	496-9	360a	639	257	773	210-211	890	419-420
271/845	487-8	502-3	357	641	258	776/889	409	891	421/112
278-281	371	504-5	358	642	259	782	33	892	426
282-285	372	519	367	643	261	787	34	893	427
288part	373	525-6	306	644/ 767R	2	796	339	894	281
289-90	374	527part	310part	645/ 796R/ 878R	3/339part	844	486	895	277-278
291-3	375	529-30	309part	650-651 651	167b-168b 12	847	105	896	273-274
300-1	376	531-2 532	308 21	652-653	93	848	106	897[-898]	270-1
302-3	377	533-4	304	654Q- 654R/818	229	849	465	899	262

Bīdārfar	Badawī	Bīdārfar	Badawī	Bīdārfar	Badawī	Bīdārfar	Badawī	Bīdārfar	Badawī
314-15	459	535-6	22	655Q 655R	301part 301part/13	850	466	900	264
318-321	77	538part, 543part 541part 542-543part	310part/24 310part 310part/23 310part	656-657	305	851	469	901	265-266
326, 329	78	545-6 546	302 25	658-659	75-76	852	470		
330-1	79-80	550	27	660	170/316	853	471		
332	81-2	555-6	311/28	666	167a	854	472		

APPENDIX C

CONTENTS OF MS L2 AS COMPARED TO MSS C AND B

In the following table, the contents of L2 are listed both according to the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension (MS C) as represented by Badawī's edition, and according to the Later Recension (MS B) as represented by Bīdārfar's edition. Ideally, and on the basis of the hypothesis that the contents of L2 ultimately derive from an Earlier Recension via the Ṣignāḥī Codex Recension, the contents of L2 should more correctly be compared to the text of the Earlier Recension in its longest form (for example, in the Earlier Recension represented by MS A), but until such an Earlier Recension is edited for publication, the Later Recension must serve to provide the outline.

The structure of the table is very complex; the reader is advised of the following guidelines. The order of the table proceeds vertically and then horizontally; thus the correct order of the contents of L2 is to be followed by beginning with the first cell on the left side to the last cell in the same column (across pages) and then to the next column, working rightward.

Bīdārfar's paragraph numbers up to 901 are used to represent MS B. Bīdārfar's numbers 1001 and up are used to represent Cairo/Badawī numbers that Bīdārfar included in his *al-Mulḥaq*, but these are listed only secondarily to the original Cairo/Badawī paragraph numbers. Passages found only in L2 are represented by an asterisk (*). Other versions of the material found in MS C or MS B are enclosed in parentheses separated by semi-colons (C;B). These numbers in parentheses refer to the paragraph numbers of Badawī's edition and Bīdārfar's edition respectively. When only one of the two recensions (i.e., either only MS C or only MS B) has parallel material, the number is preceded by C(airo) or Bī(dārfar). It is important to note that any number listed as "C|Bīdārfar number 1001f." is *not* actually present in MS B, but only in Bīdārfar's *al-Mulḥaq*.

The Materials of L2 with reference to Cairo/Badawī (and Bodleian/Bīdārfar)									
35/1001/1	202/1102	233/1124	(Bī391)	476 (Bī858)	273 (Bī896)	103/1020	190 (Bī677)	128/1039 (C401)	158/1064
36/1001/2	203/1103	234/1125	(Bī478)	477 (Bī859)	274 (Bī896)	104/1021	192/1091	129/1040 (C402)	159/1065
59 (37, 318; 720)	204/1104	235/1126	(Bī479)	478 (Bī860)	270 (Bī897)	105 (Bī847)	193/1092	130/1041 (C403)	160/1066
38 (Bī404-411)	205/1105	236/1127	(Bī167)	289 (96/134; 861)	271 (Bī897)	106 (Bī848)	194/1093	131/1042/1	161/1067
40/1002	206/1106	237/1128	(Bī168)	290a (Bī862)	262 (Bī899)	95/1013	195/1095	132/1042/2	162/1068
41/1003/1	207/1107	238/1129	(Bī169)	291 (Bī863)	264 (Bī900)	108 (Bī890)	197/1096	133/1043	163/1069
42/1003/2	208/1108	239/1130/1	(Bī9)	294 (Bī864-6)	265 (Bī901)	109/1023	198/1097	134 (489; 861)	164/1070
46/1005	209/1109	240/1130/2	(Bī788, Bī758)	297 (Bī867)	266 (Bī901)	378 (Bī887)	19 (Bī526)	135/1044	165/1071
78 (Bī326, 329)	210 (Bī773)	241/1131	(Bī789)	298 (Bī868)	486 (Bī844)	379 (Bī888)	20 (Bī530)	136/1045	166/1072
79 (Bī330)	211 (Bī773)	242/1132	(Bī737)	303 (Bī871)	487 (Bī845)	410 (9; 723/2)	21 (Bī532)	137/1046	170/1075
80 (Bī331)	212 (Bī772)	243/1133	409 (Bī776, 889)	304 (Bī872)	488 (Bī846)	10 (Bī488)	94/1/1012	138/1047	176 (Bī212-5)
81 (Bī332)	213 (Bī772)	244/1134	(Bī706)	309 (Bī873)	489 (Bī846)	C11	94/2 (Bī462)	139/1048/1	177 (Bī246-7)

82 (Bi332)	215 (Bi771)	245/1135/1	(Bi714-15)	312 (Bi874)	465 (Bi849)	C39, 454	421 (112; 891)	140/1048/2	178/1080
83 (Bi333)	216 (Bi771)	246/1135/2	(Bi790)	319 (Bi875)	466 (Bi850)	44/1004	385/1024 (C115)	141/1048/3	179/1081
84 (Bi334)	217/1112	247 (Bi636)	(Bi791)	303b (Bi876)	?/1153	45 (285; 422)	385/1025 (C116)	142/1049	180/1082
85 (Bi335-7)	218/1113	248 (Bi636)	(Bi792)	337 (Bi877)	?/1154	46/2/1006/1	385/1026 (C117)	143/1050	181/1083
86 (Bi353/2)	219/1114/1	C249	(Bi793)	339 (Bi878)	?/1155	47/1006/2	386/1027 (C318)	144/1051	182/1084
87 (Bi346)	220/1114/2	250 (Bi635)	(Bi794)	344 (Bi879)	?/1156	4 (326; 752)	390/1031 (C122)	145/1052	183/1085
88 (Bi347)	221/1114/3	251 (Bi635)	(Bi795)	345 (Bi880)	?/1157	5 (327; 753)	391/1031 (C122)	146/1053	185/1086
89 (Bi338-9)	222/1115	252 (Bi633)	(Bi727-30)	346 (Bi881)	?: header	8 (411; 724/2)	392/1032 (C123)	147/1054	186/1087
90 (Bi338-9)	223/1116	253 (Bi634)	339 (Bi878, 645b, 796)	353 (Bi882)	48 (Bi425)	13 (301; 755)	393/1033 (C123)	148/1055	187/1088
91 (Bi341)	224/1117/1	254/1136	3 (339; 878)	355 (Bi883)	49 (Bi426)	14	394/1034 (C123)	149/1056	
92 (Bi342)	225/1117/2	299 (Bi869)	(Bi820-43)	360b (Bi884)	50 (Bi427)	23 (310; 541)	395/1034 (C123)	150/1057	
93 (Bi361)	226/1118	290b (Bi870)	469 (Bi851)	366 (Bi885)	107/1022	24 (310; 538)	396/1024 (C124)	151/1058	
168/1073	227/1119/1	(Bi376, 475)	470 (Bi852)	373 (Bi886)	97/1014	57/2/1008	397-8/1035-6 (C124-5)	152/1059/1	

169/1074	228/1119/2	(Bi386)	471 (Bi853)	426 (Bi892)	98/1015	58 (Bi493)	119/1028 (C387)	153/1059/2	
188/1089-90	229 (Bi818)	(Bi387)	472 (Bi854)	427 (Bi893)	99/1016	* (60, 323-4; 466-71)	120/1029 (C388)	154/1060	
199/1098	230/1120	(Bi388)	473 (Bi855)	281 (Bi894)	100/1017	62 (428; 218)	121/1030 (C389)	155/1061	
200/1099	231/1122	(Bi389)	474 (Bi856)	277 (Bi895)	101/1018	63 (428; 218-9)	126/1037 (C399)	156/1062	
201/1100-2	232/1123	(Bi390)	475 (Bi857)	278 (Bi895)	102/1019	64 (431; 101-2)	127/1038 (C400)	157/1063	

APPENDIX D

IBN SĪNĀ'S LETTER TO IBN ZAYLA. THE TEXT OF THE INTRODUCTION

Details concerning the extant versions of this letter are found in Chapter One, Part Two, Section I.A.f, and Chapter Three, Section C.c.1.i and ii (translation). The text below is based upon MS J (Tehran University Adabīyāt 15ǧ), with collation of relevant parts of the earliest, if damaged exemplar, i.e. MS G, and the other major Mubāḥaṭāt manuscripts. While MS G is clearly a much older exemplar than J, it exhibits textual damage attributable to a disorder in the leaves of its archetype, along with additional scribal errors. Thus, it cannot form the base text of a reliable edition. MS J exhibits its own textual problems, but these can be resolved, on the whole, by reference to MS G. The most significant of these is the incorrect pointing of many of the *rusūm*. In addition, we find the interesting practice of representing words that were unreadable to the scribe with a type of skeletal template which employs the Arabic grammatical model *f.ʿ.l*. So, for instance the word *falsafa* is found in one place as *f.ʿ.l.l.h*. Clearly MSS G and J are not directly related to one another, since the latter does not display the disorder of the former. Considering the copy dates of these two exemplars, we might imagine a long history of intermediary copies between MS J and the archetype presumably shared by the two. But a comparison of them, along with the readings of the other major Mubāḥaṭāt manuscripts, is sufficient to establish the text for the purposes of this study.

- قال قد عثرتُ من كلام سيّدنا في افتتاح كتاب الشفاء على
 أمور مخالفة مناقضة وخارجة عن الإجماع، فبالحرى أن ينعم
 3 بإصلاح ذلك، وكشف الصورة فيه إن أمكن. فأجاب: قد أمعن
 الحكيم مولاى ورئيسى، أدام الله تأييده، فى التخشين وجاهر
 بالتعسف، مع أنه، أدام الله تأييده، لم يستفرغ منته فى التأمل
 6 لتكفيه غريزته الثاقبة مؤونة التشكك، فإن جميع ما تشكك مما
 ينحطّ عن مرتبته ويشينه، رضى نفسه باستعجام الحق فيه عليه.
 إن شكاً واحداً من هذه الشكوك مما لا يبعد أن يعرض للشدة،
 والمتطرفين، ولمن أسرع الى الصناعة بالمزجاة من البضاعة، ولم
 9 يتمرن بظاهرات الفلسفة حق التمرن، ولم يأخذ الى الغايات فيها
 سوى السبيل. وأما سائر ذلك، فمما لو استجاز التشكك فيه وبه
 عامى، فضلاً عن خاصى، وحشوى فضلاً عن فلسفى، لدلّ كل الدلالة
 12 على خراب بنية نفسه، وعمى عين عقله لما يتأمله فى كل فصل من
 توقيعى. السؤال عن ذلك قوله إن الفلسفة تنقسم الى حكمة نظرية
 15 وحكمة عملية، فقد جعل الحكمة العملية فيها أيضاً نظراً ومعرفة
 فجعل غايتها المعرفة والحكمة العملية عمل لا نظر قد أجمع عليه
 الاولون والآخرين وخرق الإجماع مما يستنكر اللهم إلا أن يقابل
 18 بعذرٍ جلى. الجواب ما أكثر ما وقع للناس من الغلط باشتراك
 الأسماء المستعملة فى تعاليم الفلسفة على اشتراكها وخصوصاً
 حيث يقال نظرى وعملى فى مواضع مختلفة ويدلّ بها على دلائل
 21 مختلفة ولا أطول أنا فيه ببيان ذلك فإن الحكيم مولاى ورئيسى
 أدام الله تأييده إن انتهى ذلك مشته أمكنه سماعه شفاهاً.

1. سيّدنا الشيخ الرئيس أدام علوه : J سيّدنا 1.
 6. ليكفيه : J لتكفيه || add. J تأييده مع أنه : G تأييده 5. G التحشين : J التحشير
 لم 9. codd. يشكل : Reisman corr. تشكك || codd. التشكك : Reisman corr. التشكك
 : Reisman read. الغايات || J حتى : G حق || J الفعل له : G الفلسفة 10. J om.
 : G فلسفى 12. J استبحار : Reisman read. استجاز 11. G العايات : J العامات
 conj. Dānišpažūh (Fihrist, 1339Š, p. 14. J فعلى
 : G الفلسفة 19. F قد قيل : G فليل : J و : Y, A, L1, E, B, K, N فقد 15.
 22. G : om. J خصوصاً : Y, A, L1, E, B, K, N خصوصاً || J
 : om. J أمكنه شفاهاً : Y, A, L1, E, B, K, N شفاهاً

APPENDIX E

RECENSIONAL DUPLICATES

As noted in Chapter Four, Section II.K.d, many of the recensions of the *Mubāḥaṭāt* contain what are here called recensional duplicates. These duplicate questions and responses in the same recension are the result of the incorporation into one recension of material from different sources, most likely in the form of fascicles or pieces of paper. Below are the recensional duplicates found in the Later Recension,⁶ represented by Bīdārfar's edition of MS B and employing his paragraph numbering. The two tables here present the information in reverse numerical order to facilitate reference. The abbreviation "R" stands for "Response" for those cases in which only Ibn Sīnā's response to a question found recensional duplication. There is one instance of a passage in triplicate: 645/796R/878R.

⁶ These duplicates are on the whole found in the Earlier Recensions also (with the exception of Bahmanyār's recension, i.e., MS E), since the Later Recension must have been based on one of those Earlier Recensions. Reference to the Later Recension is made here simply because it is that recension that has been published by Bīdārfar (although he did make use of two of the Earlier Recensions, viz. MSS L1 and Y).

210-11	849	767R	644
212-15	850	788	758
244-5	795	789	420-1
271	845	795	244-5
420-1	789	796R, 878R	645
533-4	872	818	654R
615	867R	819	701R
644	767R	845	271
645	796R, 878R	849	210-11
654R	818	850	212-15
660	1075	867R	615
701R	819	872	533-4
717	1140	874	747
747	874	889	776
758	788	1075	660
776	889	1140	717

APPENDIX F

IDENTIFICATION OF QUESTIONS

I. IBN SĪNĀ'S OTHER WORKS COLLATED WITH THE MUBĀḤAṬĀT

The following tables, in which passages from Ibn Sīnā's major works are identified as the sources of the questions raised in the Mubāḥaṭāt, are based on the work of Bīdārfar, with much correction and revision. Bīdārfar identified many of the passages from *aš-Šifā'* in the notes to his edition of the Later Recension, but not always in the most accurate manner. I have checked all of his identifications. In those instances in which Bīdārfar's identifications are correct, I simply add line numbers to his page number. Where his identifications are patently incorrect, I either correct his identifications or eliminate them when uncertainty remained. Where Bīdārfar's information and the information presented below is at odds, readers are advised to verify the two differing identifications. I also add extensive references to the *Šifā'* not identified by Bīdārfar. Next, I do not record Bīdārfar's references to *al-Išārāt wa-t-tanbīhāt* since, while those references may have bearing on a particular subject, it is unlikely that the questions were actually based on the *Išārāt* because of the proscriptions Ibn Sīnā placed on his students' discussion of the *Išārāt*. I also add identifications of passages from the surviving parts of the *Inṣāf* with the corresponding questions (likely to be ascribed to Ibn Zayla) from the Mubāḥaṭāt. Finally, it is to be noted that not all of the responsa and dicta of the Mubāḥaṭāt need necessarily have precise correlation with any of Ibn Sīnā's extant works. The slim evidence that some of the questions were raised in an oral discussion setting would suggest that those questions could have been based on discussions that departed from Ibn Sīnā's texts. Also, in the cases where only Ibn Sīnā's responses are extant (e.g., MVc2), or in passages that appear to be dicta and not responsa (e.g., much of Bīdārfar's *al-Mulḥaq*), there is no reason to assume that those passages bear precise reference to Ibn Sīnā's extant works. Here Bīdārfar's identifications merely facilitate study of similar philosophical themes, but should not be understood to be precise identifications of any real correspondence.

I.A. *Al-Inṣāf*

I.A.a. *Šarḥ Uṭlūḡiyya (Commentary on Pseudo-Aristotle’s Theology).*

The following two tables present the concordance between passages in the *Šarḥ* and the *Mubāḥaṭāt* questions and responses in reverse order. The page.line numbers of the *Šarḥ* refer to Badawī’s edition in *Aristū ‘inda l-‘arab*, pp. 37-74; the page.line numbers of the *Mubāḥaṭāt* refer to Bīdārfar’s edition.

Šarḥ Uṭlūḡiyyā	Al-Mubāḥaṭāt	Al-Mubāḥaṭāt	Šarḥ Uṭlūḡiyyā
37.16; 49-50	897	591-593	39.15
37.16-38.2	611-612	594	72.181-9
38.14-17	896	595	73.12-14
39.15	591-593	597-598	71.18ff.
41-3; 45	602-606	602-606	41-3; 45
43.17-19	885	611-612	37.16-38.2
48.8-49.2; 50.18-19, 16-18	620-622	613-614	62.8ff.
49.3ff.; 53.19	863	617-619	72.1ff.?
51.1ff.	882	620-622	48.8-49.2; 50.18-19, 16-18
53.14-18	895	797-798	= 56.17-57.13
56.17-57.13	= 797-798	863	49.3ff.; 53.19
60.18ff.	867 [=615], 825	867 [=615], 825	60.18ff.
61.22-24	868	868	61.22-24
62.8ff.	613-614	882	51.1ff.
71.18ff.	597-598	883	72.3-5
72.1ff.?	617-619	885	43.17-19
72.3-5	883	895	53.14-18
72.181-9	594	896	38.14-17
73.12-14	595	897	37.16; 49-50

I.A.b. *Šarḥ Kitāb Ḥarf al-Lām*

The following two tables present the concordance between passages in the *Šarḥ* and the *Mubāḥaṭāt* questions and responses in reverse order. The page.line numbers of the *Šarḥ* refer to Badawī’s edition in *Aristū ‘inda l-‘arab*, pp. 22-33; the paragraph numbers of the *Mubāḥaṭāt* refer to Bīdārfar’s edition.

Šarḥ K. al-Lām	Al-Mubāḥaṭāt	Al-Mubāḥaṭāt	Šarḥ K. al-Lām
23.21ff.	862	616	31.17
25.2-5	876	627-628	28.13-16
25.14-16	877	629-630	29.7
28.13-16	627-628	631	29.19-21
29.5-6?	879-880	862	23-21ff.
29.7	629-630	864-865	32.9-12
29.19-21	631	873	31.14ff.
31.14ff.	873	875	33.15-17
31.17	616	876	25.2-5
32.9-12	864-865	877	25.14-16
33.15-17	875	879-880	29.5-6?

I.A.c. *At-Taʿlīqāt ʿalā ḥawāšī Kitāb an-Nafs (Marginal Notes on De Anima)*

Page.line numbers of Badawī's edition of the *Marginal Notes*, *Aristū*, pp. 75-116. and paragraph numbers of Bīdārfar's edition of the Mubāḥaṭāt.

Marginal Notes	Al-Mubāḥaṭāt
94.13ff?	871
99.10ff.	884

I.B. *Aš-Šifāʾ*

I.B.a. *Kitāb al-Burhān of the Šifāʾ*

Page.line numbers of the Cairo 1956 edition of *Kitāb al-Burhān*, and paragraph numbers of Bīdārfar's Mubāḥaṭāt. These numbers are sequential in each case.

Al-Burhān	Al-Mubāḥaṭāt
125.ff	688-692
275.2-3	759
284.7	760
289.17-290.2	761
297.5-7	762
298.16-17	763

I.B.b. *As-Samāʿ at-Ṭabīʿī of the Šifāʾ.*

Page.line numbers of *as-Samāʿ at-Ṭabīʿī*, Cairo, 1983, and paragraph numbers of Bīdārfar’s Mubāḥaṭat. “KN” stands for *Kitāb an-Nafs* of the *Šifāʾ*; Q(uestion), R(esponse).

Aš-Šifāʾ As-Samāʿ at-Ṭabīʿī	Al-Mubāḥaṭāt	Al-Mubāḥaṭāt	Aš-Šifāʾ As-Samāʿ at-Ṭabīʿī
31.78, 32.8, 33.12-13	1108	586-588	227.14-228.16
36.12-37.2	1109	589-590	225.10ff. (w/ref. to KN, 189.6ff.)
39.7-8	1110	632	225.12
59.6-12	762	633-634	171.1
81.7-8	1115	635-636	169 (w/ref. to 167.15-168.1)
85.8ff.	1114	681-682	230.10-11
93.1-2	1116 Q	683-4, 710-711	231.5-7
116.6ff., 119.9ff., 122.7ff.	1117 Q	685	231.13-14
126.2	1118a Q	762	59.6-12
125.5-6	1118b Q	1108	31.78, 32.8, 33.12-13
128.14	1119a Q	1109	36.12-37.2
128.9ff.	1119b Q	1110	39.7-8
134.4ff. (127.1)	1120 Q	1114	85.8ff.
135.6-7	1121 Q	1115	81.7-8
136.3-4	1122 Q	1116 Q	93.1-2
140.12-13	1123	1117 Q	116.6ff., 119.9ff., 122.7ff.
147.3-6	1124	1118a Q	126.2
148.9-12	1125	1118b Q	125.5-6
149.10-12	1126	1119a Q	128.14
151.4ff.	1128	1119b Q	128.9ff.
152.11-153.3, 14-15	1129	1120 Q	134.4ff. (127.1)
153.10-14	1127	1121 Q	135.6-7
155.7ff.	1130 Q	1122 Q	136.3-4
157.6, 158.13-15	1131	1123	140.12-13
158.16-17	1132 Q	1124	147.3-6

Aš-Šifāʾ As-Samāʿ at-Ṭabīʿī	Al-Mubāḥaṭāt
161.6-7	1133 Q
162.13-14	1134a
163.8 (w/ref. to 84.19)	1134b Q
163.9-10	1135 Q
169 (w/ref. to 167.15-168.1)	635-636
171.1	633-634
185.9-202	1136
225.10ff. (w/ref. to KN, 189.6ff.)	589-590
225.12	632
227.14-228.16	586-588
230.10-11	681-2
231.5-7	683-4, 710-711
231.13-14	685
286.3-289.3	1137

Al-Mubāḥaṭāt	Aš-Šifāʾ As-Samāʿ at-Ṭabīʿī
1125	148.9-12
1126	149.10-12
1127	153.10-14
1128	151.4ff.
1129	152.11-153.3, 14-15
1130 Q	155.7ff.
1131	157.6, 158.13-15
1132 Q	158.16-17
1133 Q	161.6-7
1134a	162.13-14
1134b Q	163.8 (w/ref. to 84.19)
1135 Q	163.9-10
1136	185.9-202
1137	286.3-289.3

I.B.c. *Al-Ilāhīyāt* from *aš-Šifāʾ*

I.B.c.1. Questions and Responses related to *al-Ilāhīyāt* from *aš-Šifāʾ*

Page.line numbers of *al-Ilāhīyāt*, Cairo, 1960; paragraph numbers of Bīdārfar's edition of the Mubāḥaṭāt. Note that many of the questions on the *Ilāhīyāt* do not seem to treat of specific passages, but rather of general ideas. This makes identification of the passages referred to more difficult than in the cases of other parts of the *Šifāʾ*. Next, in many cases, there are multiple questions and responses related to the same passage; these are noted sequentially in each instance. Numbers in parentheses are duplicate questions and responses of the numbers immediately preceding them. Finally, there are occasional references to other parts of the *Šifāʾ* in the course of questions or responses on the *Ilāhīyāt*. Where these references have been identified, they are indicated in parentheses and are introduced by "w/ref. to," i.e., "with reference to." B = *Kitāb al-Burhān* of the *Šifāʾ*; ST = *as-Samāʿ at-Ṭabīʿī* of the *Šifāʾ*.

Al-Ilāhiyāt	Al-Mubāḥaṭāt	Al-Mubāḥaṭāt	Al-Ilāhiyāt
7.7-9	775	162	47.16-19
13.8-19 (w/ref. to B, 125ff.)	688-692	167	182.14ff.
36.8-19	422-4	256-7, 737-8	364.14ff., 402.16-403.15
38.11-13	776, 880	260, 673, 740, 787	403.15-16, 405.13-14
45.1-47.9	647-8	265-6	357.15-16
47.16-19	162	422-4	36.8-19
67.2-3	778	487-492, 774	356.16-357.9
67.4-5	777	640	170-177
80-89	705-7	647-8	45.1-47.9
86.3-4	779	654 (818)	356.19-357.1, 349.17-350.8
87.8-9	780	676-7, 678-80	381.15-388.5 (w/ref. to ST, 87.6-88.11)
127.14-130.12	757	688-692	13.8-19 (w/ref. to B, 125ff.)
170-177	640	705-7	80-89
177.6-178.13	758 (788), 790, 794	714-715	356.19-357.1
182.14ff.	167	742	431.2-11
268.16ff.	784-5	745-6	383.4ff., 389.10ff.
345.6-347.9	791-3	747 (874)	382-3
356.16-357.9	487-492, 774	748-9	384.5ff.
356.19-357.1	714-715	757	127.14-130.12
356.19-357.1, 349.17-350.8	654 (818)	758 (788), 790, 794	177.6-178.13
357.3ff.	773	773	357.3ff.
357.15-16	265-6	775	7.7-9
364.14ff., 402.16-403.15	256-7, 737-8	776, 880	38.11-13
381.15-388.5 (w/ref. to ST, 87.6-88.11)	676-7, 678-80	777	67.4-5
382-3	747 (874)	778	67.2-3
383.4ff., 389.10ff.	745-6	779	86.3-4
384.5ff.	748-9	780	87.8-9
403.15-16, 405.13-14	260, 673, 740, 787	784	268.16ff.
431.2-11	742	791-3	345.6-347.9

I.B.c.2. Bahmanyār's *talhīs* of *al-Ilāhīyāt* from *aš-Šifā'*

In this concordance, the cells are sequential in both instances.

Bahmanyār's Talhīs al-Ilāhīyāt	Al-Mubāḥaṭāt
13.12-19, 14.2-8	799
14.8-10, 14.15-16, 15.9-11	800
30.3-4	801
31.2-9	802
31.10-17, 32.2-5	803
34.15-35.2	804
35.3-36.6	805-6
37.7-11, 38.2-4, 38.11-39.3	807
163.7-164.11	808
164.12-17	809
164.18-165.4, 5-15, 167.1-5	810
177.5-178.13	811-812
182.9-15	813
268.12-15, 269.15-270.10	814
276.8-16, 278.3-7	815
344.11-12, 345.13-346.3	816
346.3-12	817

I.B.d. *Kitāb an-Nafs* of *aš-Šifā'*

The majority of the questions in the Mubāḥaṭāt bear reference to *Kitāb an-Nafs* of the *Šifā'*. While every effort has been made here to identify the passages to which the questions of the Mubāḥaṭāt refer, it is to be hoped that future research will aid in refining and adding to these identifications. Another consideration is the fact that many of the questions and responses of the Mubāḥaṭāt are sequential, that is, multiple questions and responses follow upon one another as the discussions between Ibn Sīnā and Bahmanyār evolved. An initial question by Bahmanyār will be found to relate to a given passage from the *Kitāb an-Nafs*, with the succeeding questions addressing problems with Ibn Sīnā's responses. Thus, in the table below, numerous questions and responses are related to that first *Kitāb an-Nafs* passage, but in actual fact they have more bearing upon Ibn Sīnā's successive responses.

Reference is to the Cairo 1975 edition of *Kitāb an-Nafs* and to the paragraph numbers of Bīdārfar’s edition of the Mubāḥaṭāt. Note the abbreviation Il(āhīyāt).

Kitāb an-Nafs	Al-Mubāḥaṭāt	Al-Mubāḥaṭāt	Kitāb an-Nafs
5	100-2	3-8, 153-7	187ff.
12.5-13.3	1142	14-16, 92-99, 750	60.9ff.
13.9ff., 225.6ff.	56-74	56-74	13.9ff, 225.6ff.
25.3-26.11	310-11, 312-13	75-85, 86-91, 561-4, 751	132ff.
25.4-5	1143	100-2	5
30.15ff., 184.9ff., 223.5ff.	210-11 (849)	107-112	219-220
34.14ff., 223-4	217-19	142-147	212.9-10
53.8-17	551-2	148-9	213.15-17
56.15-57.6	553-4	150-4, 744	219.6-7
60.9ff.	14-16, 92-99, 750	156-8	217ff.
99.9-100.13	559-60	159-163	215.18-216.4 (w/ref. to Il. 47.16-19)
132ff.	75-85, 86-91, 561-4, 751	164-166	209.5-7
174-7	267-9	170-174	203.15-204.7
178.7	175-6, 272-4	175-6, 272-4	178.7
185.10ff.	216	184-9, 190-5, 196-9, 200-2	187-192
187-192	184-9, 190-5, 196-9, 200-2	203-7	192.18ff.
187-8	1087	210-11 (849)	30.15ff., 184.9ff., 223.5ff.
187ff.	3-8, 153-7	216	185.10ff.
187.11-188.17	589-90	217-19	34.14ff., 223-4
187.6f., 189.2ff. (w/ref. to 148.1-2)	242-3	224-8	202.17-18

Kitāb an-Nafs	Al-Mubāḥaṭāt	Al-Mubāḥaṭāt	Kitāb an-Nafs
189.1ff.	707-9	242-3	187.6f., 189.2ff. (w/ref. to 148.1-2)
190.13-192.2, 193.10	720	267-9	174-7
192.18-193.2	449-53	286-8, 291-3, 454-5, 891	193.1
192.18ff.	203-7	310-11, 312-13	25.3-26.11
193.1	286-8, 291-3, 454-5, 891	449-53	192.18-193.2
194.10-195.11	557-8, 565, 725, 754, 755	557-8, 565, 725, 754, 755	194.10-195.11
202.17-18	224-8	559-60	99.9-100.13
203.15-204.7	170-174	589-90	187.11-188.17
209.5-7	164-166	623-6	209.10
209.10	623-6	707-9	189.1ff.
212-9-10	142-147	720	190.13-192.2, 193.10
213.15-17	148-9	783	197.7-8
215.18-216.4 (w/ref. to Il. 47.16-19)	159-163	1087	187-8
217ff.	156-8	1142	12.5-13.3
219-220	107-112	1143	25.4-5
219.6-7	150-4, 744		

II. THE MUBĀḤAṬĀT COLLATED WITH IBN SĪNĀ'S OTHER WORKS

The following table provides the same information as those above in reverse, i.e., from the Mubāḥaṭāt passages to Ibn Sīnā's other works. This table is intended to facilitate the research of scholars working on the Mubāḥaṭāt in the identification of the origin of the questions raised in the Mubāḥaṭāt. The following abbreviations are employed:

Š.U. = *Šarḥ Uṭūlūğīya*

Š.H.L. = *Šarḥ Harf al-Lām*

T.K.N. = *At-Taṣliqāt ʿalā ḥawāšī Kitāb an-Nafs*

K.B. = *Kitāb al-Burhān* of the *Šifāʾ*

S.Ṭ. *As-Samāʿ aṭ-Ṭabīʿī* of the *Šifāʾ*

K.N. = *Kitāb an-Nafs* of the *Šifāʾ*

Il. = *Al-Ilāhīyāt* of the *Šifāʾ*

B.t.Il. = Bahmayār's *talḥīṣ* of part of *al-Ilāhīyāt* of the *Šifāʾ*

AL-MUBĀḤATĀT	OTHER WORKS
3-8, 153-7	K.N. 187ff.
14-16, 92-99, 750	K.N. 60.9ff.
56-74	K.N. 13.9ff, 225.6ff.
75-85, 86-91, 561-4, 751	K.N. 132ff.
86-91	see 75-85
92-9	see 14-16
100-2	K.N. 5
107-112	K.N. 219-220
142-147	K.N. 212.9-10
148-9	K.N. 213.15-17
150-4, 744	K.N. 219.6-7
153-7	see 3-8
156-8	K.N. 217ff.
159-163	K.N. 215.18-216.4 (w/ref. to Il. 47.16-19)
162	Il. 47.16-19
164-166	K.N. 209.5-7
167	Il. 182.14ff.
170-174	K.N. 203.15-204.7
175-6, 272-4	K.N. 178.7
184-9, 190-5, 196-9, 200-2	K.N. 187-192
190-5	see 184-9
196-9	see 184-9
200-2	see 184-9
203-7	K.N. 192.18ff.
210-11 (849)	K.N. 30.15ff., 184.9ff., 223.5ff.
216	K.N. 185.10ff.
217-19	K.N. 34.14ff., 223-4
224-8	K.N. 202.17-18

AL-MUBĀḤAṬĀT	OTHER WORKS
242-3	K.N. 187.6f., 189.2ff. (w/ref. to K.N. 148.1-2)
256-7, 737-8	Il. 364.14ff., 402.16-403.15
260, 673, 740, 787	Il. 403.15-16, 405.13-14
265-6	Il. 357.15-16
267-9	K.N. 174-7
272-4	see 175-6
286-8, 291-3, 454-5, 891	K.N. 193.1
291-3	see 286-8
310-11, 312-13	K.N. 25.3-26.11
312-13	see 310-11
422-4	Il. 36.8-19
449-53	K.N. 192.18-193.2
454-5	see 286-8
487-492, 774	Il. 356.16-357.9
557-8, 565, 725, 754, 755	K.N. 194.10-195.11
559-60	K.N. 99.9-100.13
561-4	see 75-85
565	see 557-8
586-588	S.Ṭ. 227.14-228.16
589-590	S.Ṭ. 225.10ff. (w/ref. to KN, 189.6ff.)
589-90	K.N. 187.11-188.17
591-593	Š.U. 39.15
594	Š.U. 72.181-9
595	Š.U. 73.12-14
597-598	Š.U. 71.18ff.
602-606	Š.U. 41-3; 45
611-612	Š.U. 37.16-38.2

AL-MUBĀḤATĀT	OTHER WORKS
613-614	Š.U. 62.8ff.
616	Š.H.L. 31.17
617-619	Š.U. 72.1ff.?
620-622	Š.U. 48.8-49.2; 50.18-19, 16-18
623-6	K.N. 209.10
627-628	Š.H.L. 28.13-16
629-630	Š.H.L. 29.7
631	Š.H.L. 29.19-21
632	S.Ṭ. 225.12
633-634	S.Ṭ. 171.1
635-636	S.Ṭ. 169 (w/ref. to 167.15-168.1)
640	Il. 170-177
647-8	Il. 45.1-47.9
654 (818)	Il. 356.19-357.1, 349.17-350.8
673	see 260
676-7, 678-80	Il. 381.15-388.5 (w/ref. to S.Ṭ. 87.6-88.11)
678-80	see 676-7
681-682	S.Ṭ. 230.10-11
683-4, 710-711	S.Ṭ. 231.5-7
685	S.Ṭ. 231.13-14
688-692	Il. 13.8-19 (w/ref. to K.B. 125ff.)
688-692	K.B. 125.ff
705-7	Il. 80-89
707-9	K.N. 189.1ff.
714-715	Il. 356.19-357.1
720	K.N. 190.13-192.2, 193.10
725	see 557-8
737-8	see 256-7

AL-MUBĀḤATĀT	OTHER WORKS
740	see 260
742	Il. 431.2-11
744	see 150-4
745-6	Il. 383.4ff., 389.10ff.
747 (874)	Il. 382-3
748-9	Il. 384.5ff.
750	see 14-16
751	see 75-85
754	see 557-8
755	see 557-8
757	Il. 127.14-130.12
758 (788), 790, 794	Il. 177.6-178.13
759	K.B. 275.2-3
760	K.B. 284.7
761	K.B. 289.17-290.2
762	K.B. 297.5-7
762	S.T. 59.6-12
763	K.B. 298.16-17
773	Il. 357.3ff.
774	see 487-492
775	Il. 7.7-9
776, 880	Il. 38.11-13
777	Il. 67.4-5
778	Il. 67.2-3
779	Il. 86.3-4
780	Il. 87.8-9
783	K.N. 197.7-8
784	Il. 268.16ff.

AL-MUBĀḤATĀT	OTHER WORKS
787	see 260
788	=758
790	see 758
791-3	Il. 345.6-347.9
794	see 758
797-798	= Š.U. 56.17-57.13
799	B.t.II. 13.12-19, 14.2-8
800	B.t.II. 14.8-10, 14.15-16, 15.9-11
801	B.t.II. 30.3-4
802	B.t.II. 31.2-9
803	B.t.II. 31.10-17, 32.2-5
804	B.t.II. 34.15-35.2
805-6	B.t.II. 35.3-36.6
807	B.t.II. 37.7-11, 38.2-4, 38.11-39.3
808	B.t.II. 163.7-164.11
809	B.t.II. 164.12-17
810	B.t.II. 164.18-165.4, 5-15, 167.1-5
811-812	B.t.II. 177.5-178.13
813	B.t.II. 182.9-15
814	B.t.II. 268.12-15, 269.15-270.10
815	B.t.II. 276.8-16, 278.3-7
816	B.t.II. 344.11-12, 345.13-346.3
817	B.t.II. 346.3-12
818	=654
849	=210-11
862	Š.H.L. 23-21ff.
863	Š.U. 49.3ff.; 53.19
864-865	Š.H.L. 32.9-12

AL-MUBĀḤATĀT	OTHER WORKS
867 [=615], 825	Š.U. 60.18ff.
868	Š.U. 61.22-24
871	T.K.N. 94.13ff?
873	Š.H.L. 31.14ff.
874	=747
875	Š.H.L. 33.15-17
876	Š.H.L. 25.2-5
877	Š.H.L. 25.14-16
879-880	Š.H.L. 29.5-6?
880	see 758
882	Š.U. 51.1ff.
883	Š.U. 72.3-5
884	T.K.N. 99.10ff.
885	Š.U. 43.17-19
891	see 286-8
895	Š.U. 53.14-18
896	Š.U. 38.14-17
897	Š.U. 37.16; 49-50
1087	K.N. 187-8
1108	S.Ṭ. 31.78, 32.8, 33.12-13
1109	S.Ṭ. 36.12-37.2
1110	S.Ṭ. 39.7-8
1114	S.Ṭ. 85.8ff.
1115	S.Ṭ. 81.7-8
1116 Q	S.Ṭ. 93.1-2
1117 Q	S.Ṭ. 116.6ff., 119.9ff., 122.7ff.
1118a Q	S.Ṭ. 126.2
1118b Q	S.Ṭ. 125.5-6

AL-MUBĀḤATĀT	OTHER WORKS
1119a Q	S.Ṭ. 128.14
1119b Q	S.Ṭ. 128.9ff.
1120 Q	S.Ṭ. 134.4ff. (127.1)
1121 Q	S.Ṭ. 135.6-7
1122 Q	S.Ṭ. 136.3-4
1123	S.Ṭ. 140.12-13
1124	S.Ṭ. 147.3-6
1125	S.Ṭ. 148.9-12
1126	S.Ṭ. 149.10-12
1127	S.Ṭ. 153.10-14
1128	S.Ṭ. 151.4ff.
1129	S.Ṭ. 152.11-153.3, 14-15
1130 Q	S.Ṭ. 155.7ff.
1131	S.Ṭ. 157.6, 158.13-15
1132 Q	S.Ṭ. 158.16-17
1133 Q	S.Ṭ. 161.6-7
1134a	S.Ṭ. 162.13-14
1134b Q	S.Ṭ. 163.8 (w/ref. to 84.19)
1135 Q	S.Ṭ. 163.9-10
1136	S.Ṭ. 185.9-202
1137	S.Ṭ. 286.3-289.3
1142	K.N. 12.5-13.3
1143	K.N. 25.4-5

APPENDIX G

CHRONOLOGY OF IBN SĪNĀ'S LIFE AND WORKS

The following table is based upon three sources: the general chronology of Ibn Sīnā's works in Jean Michot's *La destinée de l'homme selon Avicenne* (pp. 6-7); the Chronology of Avicenna's Major Philosophical Works in Dimitri Gutas's *Avicenna*, p. 145; and the research presented above concerning the Mubāḥaṭāt and related works. General information is also drawn from the Autobiography/Biography Complex and attendant bibliographies published by William Gohlman in *The Life of Ibn Sina*.

The Chronology of Ibn Sīnā's Life and Works		
Dates	Activities	Works
c. 370-c. 388/ c. 980-c.998 c. 388-c. 389/ c. 998-999	Born in Afšana, raised in Buḥārā. Buḥārā, in the service of Sāmānid Nūḥ ibn Maṣṣūr, as physician.	Maqāla fī n-nafs ‘alā sunnat al-iḥtišār Al-Ḥikma al-‘Arūḍiyya Al-Ḥāṣil wa-l-maḥṣūl Al-Birr wa-l-iḥm (Mahdavī 10)
c. 389-402/ c. 999-1012	Gurgānġ, in service of the Ma‘mūnid ‘Alī ibn Ma‘mūn.	Before 1000. Birūnī correspondence
402-403/ c. 1012-1013	Travels with Abū Sahl: Gurgānġ-Nasā-Abivard-Ṭūs-Samangān-Ġaġarm	
403-c. 404/ 1013-c. 1014	Gurġān, in search of patronage from Qābūs ibn Yušmagīr. Gurġān - Dihistān - Ġurġān Living in Abū Muḥammad aš-Širāzī's house. Meets his "secretary" and disciple al-Ġuzġānī	Al-Arṣād al-kulliyya for Širāzī Al-Mabda' wa-l-ma‘ād for Širāzī Aḥwāl an-nafs al-insāniyya Al-Muḥtaṣar al-awsaṭ fī l-manṭiq Before 1015. Begins al-Qānūn
c. 404-405/ c. 1014-1015	Rayy, employed by Buyid Maġd ad-Dawla and his mother Sayyida	Al-Adḥawiyya fī l-ma‘ād Aḥwāl an-nafs al-insāniyya
405-c. 415/ 1015-c. 1024	Qazvīn to Hamadān, where he served as Sayyida's business manager. Public debate with Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī. Cures Šams ad-Dawla of colic and is hired as vizier until army rebels against him. In hiding in house of Abū Sa‘d ibn Daḥdūl. Then cures Šams ad-Dawla again and is re-hired. Šams ad-Dawla dies in 412/1021. In hiding in the house of Abū Ġalīb. Imprisoned in Fardaġān for secret correspondence.	Letter to the scholars of Baġdād Letter to the Vizier Abū Sa‘īd Completes al-Qānūn Begins aš-Šifā' Kitāb al-Hidāya Ḥayy ibn Yaġzān Al-Qawlanġ
c. 415-Muḥarram 421/ c. 1024-January 1030	Freed from prison. To Hamadān, living with Abū Ṭalīb al-‘Alawī. Leaves Hamadān secretly. Iṣfahān, patronized by ‘Alā’ ad-Dawla (min nudamā’ihī). Visits to Rayy during this period: see MIVa and MIVb	Al-Adwiyya al-qalbīyya Letter to ‘Alā’ ad-Dawla 1020-1027: Aš-Šifā' 1027. An-Naġāt ‘Išrūn mas‘ala fī l-manṭiq Dānišnāmah-yi ‘Alā’ī Gag Book for Abū Maṣṣūr al-Ġabbān Lisān al-‘arab The "Easterners" Project begun 1028-9. Al-Inṣāf, Marg. Notes Ibn Zayla Correspondence (parts of MVIb, MVIC, MVIf) 1030. Begins al-Išārāt wa-t-tanbīhāt
Muḥarram-c. Ġumādā al-Ūlā 421/ Jan.-May 1030	Mas‘ūd enters Iṣfahān. Ibn Sīnā's belongings, along with the Inṣāf, plundered. ‘Alā’ ad-Dawla and Ibn Sīnā go to Ĥūzistān.	MII, Parts of MVc written in Ĥūzistān
c. Ġumādā al-Ūlā 421-?/ May 1030-? 1030	With ‘Alā’ ad-Dawla in Rayy. [Ibn Zayla writes "Memoirs."]	
? 421-425/ ? 1030-1034	Back in Iṣfahān until Abū Sahl al-Ḥamdūnī, Sultan Mas‘ūd's commander, pillages Iṣfahān. ‘Alā’ ad-Dawla and Ibn Sīnā flee to Idāġ.	MIII, Parts of MVI Letter to al-Ġuzġānī?
425-Ramaḍān/Ša‘bān 428/ 1034 May/June 1037	Back in Iṣfahān in the service of ‘Alā’ ad-Dawla. On route to Hamadān, Ibn Sīnā died.	Risāla fī kalām ‘alā n-nafs an-nāṭiqā

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